

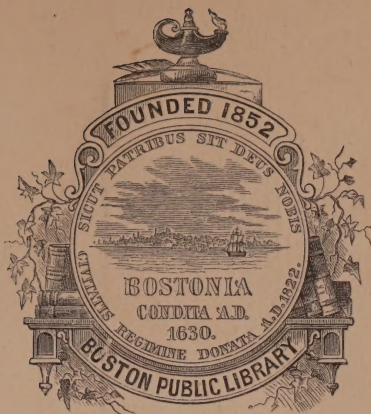
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New England

Female Medical
College.

Boston

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ACCESSION No. *119523*.....

ADDED *Sept. 13,*.....187*1*..

CATALOGUED BY.....

REVISED BY.....

MEMORANDA.

C I R C U L A R

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DEAR SIR:— Your attention is most respectfully solicited to a few considerations in behalf of the object of the following petition, recently presented, and soon to come before you for your decision.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled.

The undersigned, Directors of the Female Medical Education Society, respectfully pray to be incorporated as the NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

LEMUEL SHATTUCK,
WILLARD SEARS,
SAMUEL E. SEWALL,
DEXTER S. KING,
JOEL NOURSE,
JOHN P. JEWETT,
SAMUEL GREGORY.

The Institution for which an act of incorporation is asked, was commenced in Boston, in 1848, and has continued its operations without interruption to the present time. It is conducted and sustained by the Female Medical Education Society, incorporated by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1850.

Though the Society has a charter under which it manages its general affairs, the prosperity of its institution is very much

impeded by the want of a special act of incorporation as a Medical College. There are in our country several chartered Colleges, where female physicians are educated, the principal of which is the Philadelphia Female Medical College, incorporated by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1850, with all the powers and privileges of the other medical colleges of that State. And though the New England Female Medical College is two years older than that or any other in the country, and gives as complete a course of education, yet its pupils are subjected to the trouble and expense of attending a term in Philadelphia, in order to graduate at a chartered institution. A number who had thus nearly completed their medical education in Boston, have been to Philadelphia to obtain their degrees; and it is known that as many as ten or twelve others, residents of this city and state, intend to go there for the same purpose the coming fall, should your petitioners not be favored with an act of incorporation. Thus the New England Female Medical College is reduced to a mere preparatory school for colleges out of New England.

The want of a charter also renders it difficult to secure professors; and hence it has been necessary temporarily to employ professors from the Philadelphia institution. This has still further given the Boston college the appearance of being a mere appendage to the other: for the names of the pupils, above twenty in number, who attended here a year ago, were published in the catalogue of the Philadelphia college, as being members of that institution, *without any allusion* to the *preparatory school* in Boston.

The want of a charter for the college tends to prevent wealthy people from making donations and leaving legacies for the establishment and endowment of the institution.

The college should be placed under the regulations and restrictions of a legislative enactment, in order to protect the public from quackery. Such institutions are liable to pass into the hands of persons more interested in securing tuition and graduation fees, than in promoting the public good. Hence your petitioners not only have no objection to, but would like to have the act of incorporation provide for a Board of Overseers, (as

is the case of the Harvard and Pittsfield Medical Schools,) to see that no pupil be graduated till fully entitled to a diploma.

It is no longer a question whether there are to be female physicians, but whether they shall be properly educated and authorized. The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal says, "Several female physicians are in excellent practice in Boston, with an increasing business."

Again, the editor of the same journal, in speaking of the encouragement given to this movement by "prominent medical gentlemen," says:

"This has materially strengthened the hands of the few who originated and subsequently matured a plan of organization, which has resulted in no less than three, if not four, chartered institutions for the instruction of females in the science and art of medicine. These having been called into existence, and the public sympathy being with them, and the public voice resolute in its determination to sustain them, the course that physicians are to pursue is indicated" — that is, to co-operate in providing for the wants, and in carrying out the clearly expressed wishes of the public.

That females are to receive *Medical Diplomas* is, then, no longer a question. There are now in this city four female physicians, who have received the degree of M. D. from institutions out of New England. It is certainly better to have our Commonwealth supplied with professional women of our own educating, in an institution of a high order, and under governmental supervision, than to have them furnished to us from irresponsible institutions abroad, or to have the community filled with uneducated and unauthorized women who are drawn into practice by the urgent demand for the services of female physicians.

That there is an urgent and increasing demand for female physicians, the petitioners have had abundant opportunities to learn. A single instance, from many others, will be given.

In the Summer of 1851, the writer was applied to by a gentleman from a town bordering on Canada, who came to Boston expressly, as he stated, to engage a female physician to attend his wife in confinement. Five months after, in midwinter, the person engaged went on her distant professional visit, and performed her

responsible duties with the highest degree of satisfaction to her employer, having carried the patient safely through her critical period ; although two sisters of this lady had lost their lives in similar circumstances, under the care of male physicians, and she was apprehensive of a like result in her own case.

Another proof of this public demand, is the fact that a single female practitioner in this city attended *one hundred and five* cases of midwifery practice last year ; and others in the different cities of the State are having a large and successful practice.

The medical gentlemen, who appeared before the Committee, to oppose the prayer of the petitioners, and the medical instruction and training of women, objected that a medical degree would imply more extensive acquirements than our pupils would possess, and we should thus "foist upon the public an article with a false brand," to quote their own language. So some of the gentlemen of the committee seemed to think ; and under this impression, as the writer has reason to believe, the majority decided to give leave to withdraw. For, in a subsequent conversation with two of them, he learned that there was a misapprehension as to the fact that only those pupils who are completely educated in all branches are to receive the degree of M. D., and those trained as midwives will simply receive certificates to that effect ; and the nurses, educated in the institution, will, of course, only have certificates of qualification for their duties. And the petitioners wish it now to be distinctly understood, that they desire that no students shall receive a medical diploma till they shall have passed as satisfactory an examination before as responsible a Board of Examiners, as in the case of the Harvard and Pittsfield medical schools.

It was admitted by the distinguished medical gentlemen before the committee, that it was right and proper that females should learn and practice midwifery. But it has heretofore been objected that females were not safe attendants in obstetric cases, because they had not a general medical education, and therefore could not manage the difficulties and diseases that may be complicated with the parturient state. If, then, female accoucheurs are needed, and if to qualify them they need a complete medical education, it follows that there ought to be female physicians, whose qualifications shall entitle them to a medical degree.

But while they should be educated in all branches, convenience and public sentiment will naturally assign to males the more masculine duties of the profession, and to females the treatment of the diseases of children and the care of their own sex, in the delicate disorders and conditions peculiar to them. But as necessity now requires men to officiate in the place of women, so in case of emergencies, female physicians would be excused for taking the place of men. But the sentiment of an enlightened community will secure a proper division of duties between the male and female members of the profession. Even now among professional men there is a division of labor. We have the surgeon, the physician, or healer of the sick, the accoucheur, the apothecary, the oculist, &c.

Who, then, can doubt that women will be very proper and useful auxiliaries to the profession—which really seems to be defective and incomplete without them, especially as so many of its duties pertain to females and children.

Did space permit, numerous medical authorities might be cited in favor of female physicians; but one or two only will be presented. James Deane, M. D., of Greenfield, in this State, a medical gentleman of high standing in the profession, writes to the officers of this society as follows:—

“The objects of the Female Medical Education Society meet my approbation, because from an attentive consideration of the peculiar diseases of women, during a practice of twenty years, I have ever been of the opinion that as a general thing, and especially as to diseases incident to parturition, these might with great propriety be committed to the management of their own sex.”

William Workman, M. D., of Worcester, a physician of extensive practice, and former President of the Worcester District Medical Society, closes a letter to the Directors of the Female Medical Education Society as follows:—

“Finally, I will say, if your society, either by a special college or otherwise, shall educate and introduce into practice, a class of female midwives and physicians of the character and accomplishments of Madames Boivin and Lachapelle, of Paris, or of Miss

Blackwell, of New York, you will confer a benefit on society, and do honor to the medical profession; and I, for one, will most cheerfully bid you God speed."

Of course it is not to be admitted that New England women, with their intellect and intelligence, and with suitable opportunities for medical education and practice, will be second to any others; so that Dr. Workman's *if* is superfluous, and his cheerful God speed in full force.

It is not the purpose of this circular to present the general arguments in favor of introducing females into the medical profession—the importance of opening new departments of occupation and support to our redundant female population; the benefits to society of introducing sanitary and remedial knowledge among the female portion of the community, on whom chiefly depends the physical well being of the race; the peculiar adaptation of women, by their sympathy and quickness of perception, for the care of the sick and suffering; the superior success of their practice in the past and at the present time; the relief afforded to sensitive females by having professional assistance and counsel from physicians of their own sex; and the importance of sparing and cherishing that nice sense of delicacy which is the ornament of the female character, the soul of virtue, and the safeguard of morals.

For further information upon these and other topics connected with the question, and for the testimony of eminent physicians, clergymen, and gentlemen of the press, in all parts of the country, the reader is referred to the Fourth Annual Report of the Female Medical Education Society, copies of which have been furnished to the members. If, however, any have not these reports by them for reference, they can obtain copies at the Post Office of the House of Representatives. The Society's Report contains, with other matter, the Report of the Committee on Education last year, in favor of a grant to the Society.

This is a very extensive subject, and would require a volume to present it; it is not to be supposed therefore, that in the single hearing before the Committee of Education, the petitioners could present the numerous considerations in favor of female physicians

and Female Medical Colleges, and fully explain the peculiar position of their institution in relation to others in the country; especially as a part of the time of the hearing was taken up by the medical gentlemen on the opposite side.

The committee were not unanimous in their report giving the petitioners leave to withdraw, although no minority report was presented. Two members of the committee were not at the hearing. When the question on the acceptance of the report came up in the Senate on the 18th inst., one of the Senators from Hampshire moved to amend the report by recommitting, with instruction to bring in a bill in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners. One of the two members of the committee on the part of the Senate advocated the amendment, and the vote stood eleven for, and fourteen against it, showing a strong interest in favor of incorporating the college, taking into consideration the deference usually paid to a committee's report.

Should the House, on a fuller knowledge of the subject, decide that the public good would be promoted by granting the act of incorporation, doubtless the Honorable Senate would be pleased to concur, only fourteen of the forty members of that body having voted for the report of the majority of the committee.

It is to be hoped, moreover, that other members of the committee, especially the medical gentlemen who are of the number, on learning more fully, as they may from this document, the great disabilities and disadvantages under which the New England Female Medical College labors, and considering the danger of harm to the public from ignorant female pretenders, who will be employed in the want of those who are duly educated and authorized, will yet see it not inconsistent with their duty to favor a measure, which it is believed will, in the language of the distinguished medical gentleman quoted, "confer a benefit on society and do honor to the medical profession."

For the Petitioners,

SAMUEL GREGORY,

Sec'y of the Female Medical Education Society.

Boston, March 26, 1853.

FEMALE MEDICAL EDUCATION.

OPINIONS OF EDITORS AND OTHERS.

It has always appeared to us, that the education of females was not sufficiently extended in the direction which it is now proposed to give it. There are many diseases of women and children, and many cases of practice among them, in which a lady, well qualified by medical and surgical education, may be employed with every advantage; and the sense of propriety, that prevails in every well-regulated mind, would decide that the presence of a female practitioner is even more desirable than that of a man, however learned or skilful.

New York Observer.

There are a few self-evident propositions, and it would be questioning the common sense of mankind to doubt the general belief on these points. One is, that women are by nature better qualified than men to take charge of the sick and suffering; a second, that mothers should know the best means of preserving the health of their children; and a third point is, that female physicians are the proper attendants for their own sex in the hour of sorrow.

Godey's Lady's Book.

The importance of securing for women a larger sphere of usefulness, and the especial propriety and desirableness of qualifying them to practise the healing art among children and those of their own sex, will be admitted, I should hope, by all persons.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Potter.

I would express my conviction that the objects aimed at are of great moment, and call for the aid and coöperation of all intelligent and benevolent members of the community.

Rev. Edward Beecher, D. D.

We have long been persuaded that both morality and decency require female practitioners of medicine. Nature suggests it; reason approves it; religion demands it.

Northern Christian Advocate.

Fifty years hence it will be difficult to gain credit for the assertion that American women acquiesced, throughout the former half of the nineteenth century, in the complete monopoly of the medical profession by men, even including midwifery and the treatment of the diseases peculiar to the gentler sex. The current usage, in this respect, is monstrous; but its reign is near its end; the abuse begins to be discussed, and discussion will soon finish it.

New York Tribune.

In our opinion this enterprise should meet with the favor and support of every married man and woman in the community; for we believe that women can become as competent to the performance of the delicate duties of midwifery as men, and that they alone should perform them.

New Hampshire Patriot.

Whoever shall found a college for the instruction of female physicians, will do good service for his generation and race.

Christian World.

The object is an important one, and every reasonable man and woman must wish for its success.

Boston Traveller.

Progress is the watchword of the times, and when manifested in causes akin to this in substantial and practical good, none but the conventionally dull will regret it.

Boston Post.

The object is of great public importance, and must commend itself to general favor and support.

Christian Witness and Church Advocate, (Boston.)

This is one of the most important projects of the day for the improvement of the condition of women.

Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal, (Boston.)

Conservative as we are, we are fond of rational reforms, and in no one do we more rejoice than in this.

Hartford (Ct.) Courant.

We approve of female physicians, fully. On certain occasions a due regard for delicacy dictates that men should not be called in, if capable women can be procured. The employment of men as "midwives" is a modern custom, and one not to be commended.

Philadelphia Saturday Post.

We have long approved of this change, as no female the least refined can feel pleasant with a male attendant, especially in cases of extreme sickness; and often, no doubt, diseases of a peculiar character have been concealed, and death welcomed rather than exposure to the rude searching gaze of men. Reform is demanded, and we shall have it before long.

Portsmouth (Va.) Pilot

The people feel that educated female doctors are a kind of "God-send," and they will employ them for the softer sex. It cannot be helped; the people will do it.

American Journal of Medicine.

Among the wise and benevolent projects which have been started in America, of late years, that of providing the means of giving to females a medical education, for practice among their own sex, has attracted my particular attention, and from the first moment I heard of it I gave it my unqualified approbation.

Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary at Constantinople.

It is unquestionable that in that great country, [alluding to this movement in the U. S.] and among a great people, reforms are in progress which, while they startle us by their magnitude, strike at the root of many social evils, and lay the foundations of improvements of which the universe will reap the benefits hereafter. There can be no doubt that all classes of society would prefer to employ women in peculiar cases, — cases in which women must have the surest and easiest facilities for acquiring knowledge, — if there were conclusive evidence of their fitness for the task upon which always so much depends; and who will be bold enough to affirm, that if women were duly, wisely, and by system educated for the discharge of such duties, they would be incompetent to perform them?

Sharpe's London Magazine.

MEMORIAL
TO THE
MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Presented and Received May 21, 1866.

WHEREAS, in a Report of May 16th, made by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, in relation to the New England Female Medical College, great injustice, as we believe, has been done to a worthy and meritorious individual, the undersigned beg leave to present the following statements:

We would by no means cast reflections upon the honorable Committee, and we believe that with a full knowledge of the history of the Institution they would agree with us in our views; and as the proposal to set aside the present government of the College is based in part upon objections to its Secretary, we hope that those objections may be so far removed that the Committee themselves may see fit not to press the measure which they have recommended.

The person to whom we allude is Dr. Samuel Gregory, the Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the College. On account of the conspicuous position which he has held in connection with this public enterprise, he has been peculiarly exposed to attacks prompted by envy or interest. The undersigned, therefore, deem it proper and necessary to speak of him and his relation to the Institution. He is a gentleman of liberal education, a graduate of Yale College, and is possessed of

abilities and attainments that would command important and lucrative positions. Notwithstanding this, he has, with great disinterestedness and self-sacrifice, devoted to this cause more than eighteen years of the best portion of his life, receiving as pecuniary compensation merely the nominal salary of \$600.

He is the originator of the College, and has been the chief laborer in building it up and bringing it to its present position. Notwithstanding his just claim to have a prominent part in the management of the Institution, he has acted under the instructions of the Board of Trustees, and has ever had their approval.

In addition to his general labors in connection with the College he has secured for it the greater portion of its funds. Other agents have done well during the time of their service, but he has been a collecting agent during the entire history of the Institution. For the possession of the Wade Scholarship Fund, of \$20,000, with the \$10,000 more, yet to come from the same source, the College, so far as appears, is almost wholly indebted to him. The same is true of the Raymond bequest of \$5,000; and he was the chief agent in securing the Waterhouse professorship endowment, of \$10,000.

Having done the principal part of the labor in the matter of petitions to the City Government of Boston, and obtained an offer of a building lot (estimated by the city at \$30,000) for \$15,000, he collected over \$10,000, — and with this sum and Mr. Raymond's bequest, the Trustees were enabled to pay for the land.

In view of the part he has taken in this great public movement, and of what has been accomplished, under the difficulties that have attended it, we should regard

any measure that should effect his separation from the College as very unfortunate.

As to the application of certain funds of the College, there have been legal gentlemen upon the Board during the whole period, who did not observe anything prohibiting the use of these funds as they were employed. No one of the Trustees ever derived any personal benefit from the funds, and no one had any other object than the best interests of the Institution. And, as this is a matter upon which legal gentlemen may differ, it would seem to require no legislation.

In respect to the election of officers, the oversight discovered has never resulted in any harm, and certainly no harm was ever intended; and it appears to us that to legalize these transactions would be but one of the customary acts of the General Court; and it is our earnest hope that the Legislature will see fit thus to confirm the acts of the Board in this matter of the election of officers.

All of which is most respectfully submitted.

JOHN BATCHELDER, (*Pres.*)
JOHN S. TYLER,
GEO. M. RANDALL,
WM. CUMSTON,
JOHN J. NEWCOMB,
JAMES HUNNEWELL,
EDWARD N. KIRK,
M. DYER, JR.,
PAUL ADAMS,
STEPHEN G. DEBLOIS,
CURTIS C. NICHOLS,

Present and Past Trustees.

Boston, May 21, 1866.

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NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

37.

Statement to its Patrons and Friends.

*Published by the Trustees, and to be had at the College, 30 Canton Street,
Boston.*

The Massachusetts Legislature, at its last session, as is well known, in response to certain petitions, instituted an investigation into the doings of the Corporation of the New England Female Medical College. The result of the matter was that, in consequence of a discovered oversight in the election of officers and an alleged misapplication of funds, the legislature, in accordance with the report and recommendation of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, passed a Resolve declaring the office of Trustees vacant, and creating a new Board.

Before renewing their applications for aid in carrying out the plans and purposes of the corporation, the Trustees deem it proper and necessary to present a statement of the facts and circumstances of the case, that the patrons and friends of the College may understand the matter, and judge for themselves of the transactions in question.

1. The Election of Trustees. According to the act of incorporation four of the Trustees go out annually, and the vacancies are filled by those remaining in office. Five members

constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. At the annual meeting eight years ago there were just a quorum present, including two of those whose term of office was about to expire. The outgoing members were entitled to act upon all business at the meeting except the election of their successors. They did not vote in the election, but were considered a part of the quorum while the election took place. At three other of the nine annual meetings, held under this charter, one of the outgoing members was in like manner considered a part of the quorum; whereas, for the purpose of electing the four Trustees, there should have been a quorum independently of the retiring members.

2. The State Scholarship Grant. In 1854, the legislature made a grant of \$1,000 a year for five years, to pay the tuition fees of forty students annually, from different parts of the State. To provide for the instruction of the classes the Trustees agreed with the Professors to pay them, as part of their salaries, the \$1,000 a year as fast as the instalments were received. The full number of students did not apply; but the same provision was made, and at the same expense, as if all had attended; and it was no fault of the Trustees that all did not attend. The list of students was published in the Annual Report of the College, and copies of the Report were furnished to the members of the legislature; and, though the circumstances connected with the making of the grant were fresh in the minds of many of the members, nobody objected to the payment of the second annual instalment because the full number of students had not attended under the first.

The same course, with the same results, was continued through the five years; the Trustees performing their part of the contract, and receiving all the students who came properly recommended. Though the Resolve granting the aid said nothing either of payments or of students after the expiration of the five years,

the Trustees have continued to receive State scholars, and are ready to admit the small remaining number whenever they apply.

3. The State Grant for other purposes. In 1855, the legislature made a grant of \$10,000, payable in four equal annual instalments, "to be applied," in the words of the Resolve, "in providing a suitable building, library, apparatus, and other necessary furniture and fixtures, and in otherwise promoting the objects of the Society and its institution,—provided an equal sum be raised for the same purpose from other sources."

The College was at that time occupying hired apartments, and it was known that it must necessarily continue to do so, at least for the four years while the State grant was in process of payment. The word "providing" was used in the Resolve, so as to leave the Trustees at liberty to hire, purchase or build, according to circumstances.

The legislative committee of the last session do not say, in their report, that this money was used contrary to the terms of the Resolve, but they express the opinion that the legislature intended to aid in placing the institution on a permanent basis. The last named of the undersigned committee was a member of the State Senate in 1855, and a member of the Committee on Education, to whom the application of the College was referred; and he had special charge of the matter while before the committee and subsequently. His opinion was then, and is now, that the legislature intended just what is expressed in the Resolve — that the Trustees should provide a permanent building if they could; but provide one at any rate. The College has not, from that time to the present, been without a building for its use; and the outlay in this department of expenditure, since the grant was made, has been about \$9,000.

It would have been as gratifying to the Trustees as to any parties to have been able to devote the entire State grant, and

the conditional sum, to the purchase or erection of a College building; but the process of collecting the conditional \$10,000 was slow, and the financial crisis of 1857 greatly interfered with the raising of funds for two or three years; and the Trustees, who had no other object in view than the best interests of the institution, and no other reward than the satisfaction of aiding a good cause, conducted the affairs of the College according to the best of their judgment, and applied the money as they were fully authorized to do by the legislative Resolve. No part of the State grant was used in paying collecting agents; which the Judiciary Committee say was one of the allegations of the petitioners. The last instalment of the grant was paid after an account had been rendered to the State Auditor in reference to the previous instalment.

Had an undue proportion of the funds at command been invested in a building, the operations of the institution must have been embarrassed or suspended, and its prosperity seriously injured. But by the course pursued by the Trustees the College has been kept in uninterrupted and successful operation; in consequence of which it has received permanent funds to the amount of \$30,000 — twice the sum ever granted by the State — and \$12,000 more have been left in bequests, which will hereafter be realized. Nor will the result in regard to the building itself be less beneficial, the Trustees having purchased a square of about an acre of land, near the City Hospital, paying \$15,000 in cash, and the City donating a like amount of its value. The College will therefore have a better edifice, in a better location, than could have been commanded in any past period.

4. The Wade Scholarship Fund. In 1858, Hon. John Wade, of Woburn, left to the College real estate in Boston, of about \$20,000 in value. It was left in trust, the net income to be paid over to the College annually, to aid suitable women in obtaining a medical education. The annual income has been

received and credited to the Fund, and has gone in with the general funds of the institution. All properly qualified persons who have applied for aid from this source have been received, and the amount of their tuition fees has been charged against the Fund; and interest upon the unappropriated balance has now been credited to the Fund.

The same course is pursued by Harvard University, in case of similar endowments. A separate account is kept with each, and the Fund is credited with the income, and interest on any balance in its favor, and charged with the disbursements; but the income is not kept separate from the general funds of the institution; and large balances are now standing to the credit of some of these Special Funds. The same method is pursued by Tufts College, and doubtless by institutions generally, possessing such scholarship endowments.

There is a balance standing to the credit of the Wade Fund; but it will ere long be absorbed by the increasing number of students. As the College has such a foundation as to render its perpetuity and success a certainty, it is of course an entirely competent and responsible party, and will render, in the education of students (for which the endowment was made), a full equivalent for every dollar that has been or may be realized from the Fund.

Tuition fees, after they are received by an institution, are properly applied for any purpose; and, as the receipts from the State Scholarship Grant and from the Wade Fund have been tuition money, there has been no misapplication of these funds, but they have been used for their intended and proper purposes.

In the government of the College, for the period of nearly twelve years, was Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, whose legal knowledge will not be questioned, and who has had a large experience in matters of this kind. He aided in preparing the forms of the Resolves and in obtaining both the grants. He took an

active part in counselling and performing the acts connected with the disbursement of the State grants and the Wade money as long as he continued in the Board; and, with this intimate knowledge of the whole matter, he was clearly of the opinion that the Trustees did nothing, while he was one of them, but what was entirely legal and proper in regard to any of these funds. No change in the mode of dealing with these funds has taken place since he left the Board.

These are the transactions that have been called in question. In the matter of the election of Trustees, it is admitted that there was an oversight. But it was a trifling affair; no harm is alleged to have ever resulted from it, certainly no harm was intended; and it is one of the customary matters with the legislature to legalize acts of corporations performed under circumstances of this kind.

As to the State Scholarship Grant, the Trustees believed then, and now believe, that they had a right to use the money as fast as it was received; and there is nothing in the Resolve intimating any thing to the contrary. Every dollar of the grant was paid to the Professors for instructing the students; and if this was a misapplication of the money, then there was no purpose for which it could be properly applied. The State scholars did not all come within the limits of the time specified in the Resolve, and the College, in a liberal spirit, has kept its doors open to them ever since. As to the State Grant of \$10,000, most of it was used for the object first specified in the Resolve — providing a building. No one alleges that the Trustees went contrary to the terms of the Resolve; and certainly they were, from their position, the best judges of what the interests of the institution required. In respect to the Wade Fund, no provision of the will has been violated; nothing unusual has been done; nothing but what is sanctioned by the usage of other institutions.

Whether, therefore, these transactions were such as to justify

the legislature in virtually abolishing the Board of Trustees and reconstructing the corporation, the reader can judge. But, whether just and necessary or not, this action of the legislature has the same effect as if everything had been legalized and confirmed, as it places the institution upon an unquestioned legal basis. The corporation begins anew, and no occasion remains for referring to the past, should any difference of opinion still be entertained as to any past transaction; and of course there need be no hesitancy in the minds of any who may wish to aid the general funds of the College, or add to its permanent endowments.

The Resolve creating a new Board appointed eight gentlemen, most of whom were, or had been, Trustees, and directed them to meet and choose eight other Trustees, to complete the Board. The legislative committee, as appears from their report, derived from some source the belief that the culpability for the alleged misdoings of the corporation belonged chiefly to the Secretary and General Agent, Dr. Samuel Gregory; and they accordingly placed upon him the chief portion of the blame. But the Trustees who had themselves taken part in directing and performing the acts in question knew this to be an erroneous impression on the part of the able and honorable committee, and an unjust censure of the Secretary; and most of the Trustees appointed by the legislative Resolve readily satisfied themselves of the fact. Accordingly at their first meeting they elected Dr. Gregory with seven others, to fill the Board. The number of Trustees having thus been completed, he presented a petition for an investigation of the charges made against him in the legislative report. The matter was referred to a committee consisting of three of the eight Trustees appointed by the legislature; none of the committee having acted in the former Board of Trustees.

After a thorough investigation, the committee made a report completely exonerating Dr. Gregory; and he has been, with

entire unanimity on the part of the whole Board, reinstated in his position as Secretary and General Agent, and is commended with increased confidence as an earnest, faithful and self-sacrificing laborer in building up the institution which he originated, and in advancing the cause to which he has devoted the best portion of his life.

The following are the members of the new Board of Trustees: William Cumston (President), John S. Tyler, John Batchelder, Paul Adams, Jonas Fitch, Osborn Howes, John J. Newcomb, Joseph T. Bailey, Franklin Snow, Henry D. Hyde, Samuel Gregory (Secretary), Edward W. Kinsley, Curtis C. Nichols, Amos W. Stetson, John Souther, Amariah Storrs (Treasurer).

The efforts of the Trustees to raise funds have been much interfered with for the past two years, and for many months entirely suspended. But the Board having been reorganized in strict accordance with the authority of the legislature, and everything thus being adjusted, the Trustees hope now to go forward with renewed success in raising the needed funds for carrying on the institution, and for erecting a commodious building upon the ample grounds purchased for the purpose.

Per order of the Board of Trustees.

WM. CUMSTON,
JOHN S. TYLER,
JOHN BATCHELDER,

Committee.

Boston, Sept. 15, 1866.

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NEW ENGLAND
FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

pr.

CIRCULAR
TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY ALFRED MUDGE & SON, 34 SCHOOL STREET.
1866.

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

To the Members of the Massachusetts Legislature :

As this institution has for some time been before the General Court, occupying the attention of two of its Committees, and is soon to come up for final action, it may be proper to lay before the members generally some of the information that has already been presented to the Committees.

The Committee on Education deserve much credit for their long and patient investigation, in which they have reduced the matter to very small dimensions. The report of this Committee speaks of the "petition of E. C. Rolfe and others, and also divers other petitions in support of the same, praying for an investigation of the doings of the Corporation of the New England Female Medical College."

The number of petitions is four, and the whole number of petitioners, in Boston and country towns, is seventy-eight, of whom twenty-nine are gentlemen, and forty-nine, ladies. On inquiry of some of the principal petitioners, no disaffection or suspicion of any wrong doing was found, other than has been created by the parties engaged in this movement. They were told so and so, and without any knowledge of the facts they thought that no harm, and perhaps much good, might result from an investigation, and so they signed the paper. The whole seventy-eight have given but little more money to the college than *one* of its present trustees, and about half of them have never given a dollar.

The allegations of the petitioners, as they appear in the committee's report, are six, and they will be spoken of in their order.

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The first relates to the State grant for scholarships and the grant for a building and other purposes.

In 1854, the Legislature made a grant under the following resolve:

“Resolved, That the sum of one thousand dollars annually for five years, from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, be appropriated to the Female Medical Education Society, in aid of the medical education of females, by the establishment of forty scholarships, the beneficiaries of which shall be selected from the best qualified applicants from the Senatorial districts, in numbers in accordance with the Senatorial apportionment to said districts, to be paid in quarterly payments, the said amount to be deducted from the moiety of the School Fund devoted to educational purposes; and the Governor is authorized to draw his warrant accordingly.”

This provided for forty students annually for five years, equal to two hundred for one annual term each. This amount of \$1,000 a year was to pay the tuition fees of the State scholars. The tuition fees of the other students at that time were thirty dollars per term, but it was fixed at twenty-five dollars for the State scholars.

The money was received by the college and paid to the professors for instruction. The State scholars did not all come, but the expense of providing for the instruction of those who did come was the same as if all had attended. All who came properly recommended were received. It was not a condition that the college should furnish the students, but only that it should furnish instruction, which it did. It was necessary to use the money as fast as received, in order to help pay the professors, and thus secure the instruction of the State scholars who came. Had the Legislature intended to pay for only what students should happen to come, the money would have been retained till the number of students was known, and reported to the State Treasurer. If a man should order dinner at a hotel for forty persons, he would expect to pay for the full

number though the guests were not all present. The State would not deal less reasonably.

The resolve speaks of paying \$1,000 annually for forty students for *five* years, and says nothing about either pay or students *beyond* five years. The Trustees believed their part of the contract had been fulfilled at the expiration of this time, and that they were under no obligation to continue to furnish instruction for State scholars beyond the five years. But, wishing to receive the State aid in the same liberal spirit with which it had been granted, they passed a vote that the remaining State scholarships should continue open till all were taken up.

Of the two hundred scholarships of one annual term each, one hundred and seventy have been taken up and thirty remain, a part of which are already engaged, and applicants for the balance will be received next term, should that number of suitable persons apply. The whole sum remaining is but seven hundred and fifty dollars.

In 1855, the Legislature made a grant under the following Resolve:

“*Resolved*, That there be paid out of the treasury of the Commonwealth to the Female Medical Education Society, in aid of its institution, the New-England Female Medical College, the sum of ten thousand dollars, to be paid in four equal annual payments, commencing on the first day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-six, — this sum to be applied in providing a suitable building, library, apparatus, and other necessary furniture and fixtures, and in otherwise promoting the objects of the Society and its institution, — and that the Governor be authorized to draw his warrant therefor, *provided* an equal sum be raised for the same purpose from other sources.”

The conditional \$10,000 was raised by the College, and the four instalments were received. The word, “providing,” as was intended, left the trustees free to erect, purchase or hire a building, as might be deemed best under the circumstances. About \$9,000 has been expended in providing a building, and the

College still occupies a hired house. An effort was made to purchase a building, a full account of which is given in the Annual Report of the College for 1865, copies of which have been furnished to the Legislature. The State grant and the conditional sum of \$10,000 have been applied in providing a building, and for the general purposes of the institution, according to the words of the Resolve.

The Committee's report, in stating the second of the three points, established and admitted, says that this grant of \$10,000 "has been used for the general purposes of the institution." On calling the attention of the Chairman of the Committee to the fact of the large part of it expended on the building account, he said that was included in the term "general purposes." That is, the grant of \$10,000 has been used in providing a building and for other purposes of the institution.

In 1859, in accordance with a requirement of the Legislature in cases of this kind, the Treasurer of the College, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, made a return to the State Auditor of the manner in which the instalment of \$2,500, received the previous year, had been used. The State Auditor received the paper and the State Treasurer paid over the next instalment, thus indicating that everything was right.

The second allegation of the petitioners is, that "the Wade Scholarship Fund has been misapplied."

In 1858, Hon. John Wade, of Woburn, left by bequest to the college real estate in Boston of about \$20,000 in value, as a Scholarship Fund; the net income to be paid over to the college annually, "for the support and medical education of worthy and moral indigent females."

This fund was left *in trust*, and consequently has not been touched by the Trustees of the college. The petitioners of course meant the *income* of the fund.

The total income of the fund received by the college has been \$8,050.88. Of this, \$1,315.63 was expended in defending the

will, and \$3,525.00 has been applied in paying tuition fees of the Wade students; leaving \$3,216.25 standing to the credit of the fund. The tuition of a student, for the two annual terms she is required to attend, is \$130; accordingly, the amount credited to the fund will pay the tuition of 24 students and \$96.25 will remain. All properly recommended candidates who have applied for aid from this fund have been received, and the rest will be received as fast as they apply. About half the number are already engaged, and probably in three years from this time every dollar of the income will thus be absorbed.

The will does not state how much aid shall be given to each student, nor at what time the money shall be used after it is received by the college, only that it is to be paid over for a specified object, — the aiding of a certain described class of students; and that object the college has been accomplishing, and will accomplish to the full amount of the income.

The best interests of the college, and of the Wade scholars who attended, required that the money should be used as from time to time received. It would have been short-sighted policy to have kept the money on hand, and had to suspend the operations of the college in consequence. The trustees have had no other interest than to do what they believed to be best for the prosperity of the institution and the good of the public. By the course they have pursued, the college has been kept in uninterrupted operation, secured the means of support, and has this scholarship fund of \$20,000, a professorship endowment of \$10,000, a building lot worth \$30,000, and \$12,000 in bequests, to be received with increase hereafter, making a total of \$72,000, and about \$66,000 beyond all liabilities. There was a condition in the sale of the land by the city, that a college building should be erected by the 1st of July, 1867. But should it be found impracticable or inexpedient to accomplish the work by that date, the city would, of course, in accordance with its usual custom in such cases, extend the time.

The third allegation of the petitioners is, that "the funds of subscribers have been misapplied." The Counsel for the petitioners stated that this charge related to the \$10,000 raised by the college as the condition of securing the State grant of like amount, the whole \$20,000 being subject to the same conditions. This being the case, if the State grant was used in accordance with the Resolve, as it clearly was, then the conditional sum furnished by subscribers was also used according to the terms of the Resolve.

The fourth allegation is, that "bequests and legacies have been misapplied." No evidence was offered to sustain this charge, and it therefore needs no reply.

The fifth allegation is, that "the institution is not controlled by the Trustees according to the provisions of the charter." That is, say the petitioners, the charter says, "all the government and business of said college shall be conducted by a Board of Trustees, consisting of twenty members," whereas most of the business has been done by a part of the Board.

The charter, it will be observed, says the government and business shall be *conducted* by the Board, as it has been, and not that all shall devote an equal amount of time and labor to the details of business. Everybody at all conversant with such matters knows that it is the general rule in corporations that a minor portion of the members do most of the ordinary business. This must be so, as it is impossible for all to participate alike in the general routine of affairs.

It is the duty of the Secretary and General Agent, as the only paid officer, to do most of the work, and to have a vigilant oversight of the affairs of the institution. The petitioners have complained before the Committee on Education, and elsewhere, that the Secretary has a salary of \$600 — this being the amount received for his entire services, alike in time of peace and of war, and his only means of subsistence. But this has not all been used for his own purposes. Since the enterprise was

started he has hired, in sums larger or smaller, for longer or shorter periods, money amounting in the aggregate to over \$9,000 to meet claims against the institution and keep it in operation, paying the interest, often broker's rates, out of his salary, — an incident in the history of the college he has not before made public, and only does so now in the way of vindication against the assaults of ingratitude and injustice.

The sixth and last of the allegations of the petitioners is, that "the standard of education in the institution is so low, that the object designed in chartering the college is not accomplished."

The standard of education, as may be seen in the published Annual Report of the college, corresponds with that in the other medical colleges of the State, and of the country; namely, three years of medical study, including two annual terms of attendance on lectures upon the usual branches of a medical education. No fault can therefore be found with the standard. The only question can be, whether the professors have been competent and faithful in receiving and educating those who have graduated under this standard.

The most responsible person in this regard is Dr. Rolfe, whose name appears in the Committee's report, as heading the principal petition. In 1848, before there was an organization of any kind in connection with this enterprise, the writer, having collected a class of about a dozen women, hired Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., and William M. Cornell, M. D., to give the first course of lectures; and for nearly *fourteen* years Dr. Rolfe was an instructor in the institution, and six years of the time Dean of the Faculty. Of the sixty-one graduates, he, with the other professors, instructed and recommended thirty-nine to the Board of Trustees as suitable candidates for graduation; and on the strength of this recommendation the Trustees conferred upon them medical degrees. Now some of his associate petitioners say these persons were not fit graduates. Dr. Rolfe, before the Committee on Education, disclaimed ever having made that

charge himself. He however stands before the public as the person most responsible for this disparagement of those he has instructed and recommended.

If his recommendation of the graduates was truthful, then the allegation of other petitioners against the graduates is groundless. It does great injustice to worthy women who with much labor and sacrifice have obtained a medical education, and is calculated to injure the college by driving students from Boston and New England to female medical colleges in other States. The Committee's report was hurried into one of the Boston daily papers, and thus sent over the Commonwealth and the country, without waiting for the decision of the Legislature upon the matters it contains. Allegations, however groundless, have a tendency, as everybody knows, to injure the parties against whom they are made. It would seem, therefore, that persons disposed to fair dealing, and having no other motive than the best interests of the college, would have waited a little for the decision they had asked for, instead of hastily despatching their accusations over the country.

The twenty-two graduates who have gone out since Dr. Rolfe left the institution are at least as good as the thirty-nine who graduated under his administration. He ceased to fill a professorship because the Trustees were unable to pay him the salary he thought he ought to have for his services, and for no other alleged reason.

The professors generally have been able and successful instructors, mostly members of the Massachusetts Medical Society; and the graduates of the college stand fully as high as those of any other female medical college in the country. One of them is first assistant in the great Maternity Hospital of Paris; one is professor of anatomy, physiology and hygiene in the Vassar Female College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; one occupied for three years, and another still occupies, a like position in the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, at South Hadley; two are

physicians in hospitals for women and children; one has given, with great acceptance, courses of lectures on anatomy, physiology and health, illustrated with apparatus of the college, to the young ladies in our four State Normal Schools; this lady and two other of the graduates are now instructors in the college itself; and others are scattered over the country successfully engaged in their appropriate departments of practice.

The Trustees do not claim that the college is all they desire it should be; but being the pioneer institution of the kind in the world, and having many obstacles to overcome, they think as much has been accomplished as could reasonably be expected under the circumstances, and that the way has now been prepared for a much more rapid progress of the enterprise than heretofore.

Mrs. Anna Goulding, who heads the ladies' petition, was, like Dr. Rolfe, brought into the institution through the instrumentality of the Secretary. She subsequently became a collecting agent for the corporation, acting in that capacity about eight years, and receiving a liberal commission on her collections for her services. She also held for several years the position of one of the Board of Lady Managers. She never complained of the Trustees for "misapplying funds" while she was connected with the college. She left the institution in 1859, seven years ago; and now, at this late day, she brings charges against the Trustees for "misapplying funds," a portion of which she and the professor above named, received from year to year for their services. Thus it is, that the persons who originated this movement, who head the petitions, and appear as the chief accusers, are those who, by their long continued connection with the institution, gave their approval of its management, and who partook and continued to partake, without hesitation, of the very funds which they now say were misapplied.

Of the three points presented by the Committee on Education in their Report, as having been established by the petitioners

and admitted by the trustees, the first two have been considered in the foregoing pages. The third point refers to the election of officers at the annual meetings.

The Board of Trustees consists of twenty members. Four go out annually. Five members constitute a quorum. As members can take no part in the meeting at which they are elected, they are considered as entitled to transact business at and through the meeting at which their term of office expires. In fact they must continue to be members until their successors have been notified and have accepted, or else there would be a hiatus between the outgoing and the incoming members. The charter requires that the four vacancies caused by the outgoing members shall be filled by the sixteen Trustees remaining in office; not, of course, by the whole sixteen, but by those of them present at a legal meeting. The outgoing members being obviously entitled to constitute a part of the meeting, and transact business till its close, the Trustees considered the only restriction upon them was, that they should not vote for their successors; and no one has alleged that they did vote. This, then, is the "point of law" as to the charter, — whether or not any outgoing members could properly be considered a part of the quorum while their successors were elected by those present who had a right to vote.

The attendance upon the annual meetings held under this charter, from October, 1857, to October, 1866, inclusive, has been, 5, 6, 9, 9, 10, 6, 6, 6, 5; and the number entitled to vote in filling the four vacancies has been, in the several years, 3, 5, 7, 6, 8, 5, 4, 4, 4. Thus it appears that at every meeting but the one cited by the committee there were present four or more of the sixteen entitled to vote in filling the vacancies. And, though that does not perhaps affect the case, it may be remarked that four is the same proportion of sixteen that five (the quorum) is of the whole Board of twenty.

It was thought best at the time of organizing the Board

under the new charter, in 1856, to have one Trustee in each of the other New England States, to aid the College in those States. But as the institution has now grown to some magnitude, and a large fund is to be raised and a building erected, the Board needs to be more concentrated, and the members to devote more personal service to the affairs of the institution. Several of the distant members having retired from the Board, their places have already been filled by men near at hand. Other changes of the kind will ere long occur, and the difficulty of getting a larger attendance at the meetings will hereafter be obviated.

The Trustees who have attended few meetings have helped the college in other ways, and in their various localities, and the Board as a whole have, it is believed, given as much time and service to the college as other similar corporations; and the institution has been so well managed that it has grown up from nothing to such an honorable position that outsiders (former employees and others,) are scrambling to get possession of it, and trying to effect their purpose by crying down those who started it and have nursed it up to its present condition.

To show the absurdity of the cry that "the college is going to ruin," two facts only need be stated. According to the last published Annual Report of the college, the receipts for the year, including the donation of \$15,000 in value by the City of Boston, were over \$33,000; more than was ever before received in a single year, even in that in which the Wade bequest was received. The other fact is that the college sent out at the close of its last term one of the best, and the largest class it has ever graduated.

A hundred and twenty-nine of the principal merchants and men of wealth, in Boston, petitioned the City Government to sell the college a building lot at a low rate. The city made a liberal offer, and then the friends helped pay for the land. And had it not been for this causeless and most unjust attack,

that has been going on for about two years past against the Trustees, there is every reason to believe that every dollar of indebtedness would have been paid, and the same friends who helped obtain the land would have subscribed still more liberally toward the building fund, especially as the erection of the building is the *last work* of any difficulty that remains to be done. And now, when the Legislature shall have disposed of this case, and the public shall have obtained a correct understanding of the matter, the college will go forward with increased prosperity.

The following is the list of Trustees from the adoption of the special college charter, in 1856, to the annual meeting in 1865.

GEORGE FABYAN, M. D., Boston.
 GEN. JOHN S. TYLER, Boston.
 HON. BENJ. C. CLARK, Boston.
 HON. SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.
 ADAM W. THAXTER, JR., Boston.
 DAVID SNOW, Boston.
 DEXTER S. KING, Boston.
 JOHN P. JEWETT, Boston.
 PAUL ADAMS, Boston.
 GADNER P. DRURY, Boston.
 SAMUEL GREGORY, M. D., Boston.
 LIEUT.-GOV. HENRY W. BENCHLEY, Worcester.
 REV. EMERSON DAVIS, D. D., Westfield.
 JAMES HUNNEWELL, Charlestown.
 HON. JOHN BATCHELDER, Lynn.
 GOV. JOSEPH H. WILLIAMS, Augusta, Me.
 EX-GOV. WILLIAM SLADE, Middlebury, Vt.
 EX-GOV. MATTHEW HARVEY, Concord, N. H.
 GOV. WM. W. HOPPIN, Providence, R. I.
 GOV. WM. T. MINOR, Stamford, Ct.
 HON. JACOB SLEEPER, Boston.
 MICAH DYER, JR., Esq., Boston.
 JOHN J. NEWCOMB, Boston.
 REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D. D., Boston.
 LORENZO BURGE, Boston.
 EX-GOV. RYLAND FLETCHER, Cavendish, Vt.
 JUDGE GEORGE P. SANGER, Boston.

REV. LEWIS COLBY, Cambridge.
 CHARLES DEMOND, Esq., Boston.
 STEPHEN G. DEBLOIS, Boston.
 CURTIS C. NICHOLS, Boston.
 REV. JOHN P. GULLIVER, D. D., Norwich, Ct.
 REV. WILLIAM ALGER, Boston.
 REV. DANIEL C. EDDY, D. D., Boston.
 CHARLES W. JENKS, Boston.
 REV. EDWARD N. KIRK, D. D., Boston.
 REV. GEORGE M. RANDALL, D. D., Boston.
 WILLIAM CUMSTON, Boston.
 REV. GEORGE H. HEPWORTH, Boston.
 REV. JOSEPH W. PARKER, D. D., Boston.
 JONAS FITCH, Boston.
 WM. FOX RICHARDSON, Boston.
 GOV. JAMES Y. SMITH, Providence, R. I.

These are the men who are arraigned before the General Court for misapplying the funds and violating the charter of the college; and against whom all this demonstration is made. And what does it amount to? All the records, account books, and papers of the college were made subject to the inspection of the Counsel for the petitioners, and they have not shown or alleged that a single dollar, given by the State or by individuals, has ever been used for any purpose other than that of promoting the objects of the institution. They have not shown that anybody has enriched himself out of the enterprise, or that any single act of intentional wrong-doing has been committed. Two or three law points have been discovered, but so doubtful that they have been referred to the Judiciary Committee; and should it be decided that in reference to any of these points there has been a mistake or a misunderstanding of terms, by parties laboring, in good faith and honest endeavor, to carry on a good cause, they are mere trifles, pins' heads, in no way diminishing the past usefulness of the college, or affecting the validity of past transactions of the Board, and requiring no other remedy, if any, than A Confirmatory Act of the Legislature, as is customary in similar cases in other corporations.

History will present few examples of a more unjust and uncalled for attack upon an intelligent and honorable Board of Managers of a public institution; and the injustice will be the more clearly seen as the history of the college is more fully understood; and it is confidently believed that the action of the Legislature in the case will be such as to vindicate those whose character and conduct have been thus recklessly assailed, and constitute a verdict that posterity will approve.

In behalf of the Trustees,

SAMUEL GREGORY,

Secretary.

Boston, April 26, 1866.

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MEMORIAL

TO THE

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

BY HON. JOHN BATCHELDER,

President of the New England Female Medical College.

27.

PRESENTED AND RECEIVED MAY 17, 1866.

BEING A REPLY TO THE REPORT OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, RESPECTING
THE ABOVE-NAMED COLLEGE.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY ALFRED MUDGE & SON, 34 SCHOOL STREET.

1866.

MEMORIAL.

The undersigned feels it his duty to make some reply to the report of the Committee on the Judiciary, under date of May 15, relating to the case of the New England Female Medical College.

The Committee on Education had several hearings upon the subject, and reported three points for the consideration of the Judiciary Committee. Certain papers presented by the Trustees to the Committee on Education were passed over to the Judiciary Committee, but the Trustees, supposing the Committee were simply to pass upon the three points raised, did not ask a formal hearing. The Secretary went before them and made brief statements, in part to correct an error in the report of the Committee on Education, which will be noticed in another paragraph. Had the Trustees supposed that such an extraordinary personal attack was to be made upon their Secretary, they certainly would have appeared, and informed the Committee that he had ever acted in accordance with instructions, and had the approval of the Board, and was held by them in high estimation.

The Scholarship grant of 1854, of \$1,000 a year for five years, was to pay the tuition fees of forty students annually during this time, the tuition being fixed at \$25 per term for each,—\$5 less than other students were paying.

The money was received by the college and paid to the professors for instruction. The State scholars did not all come, but the expense of providing for the instruction of those who did come was the same as if all had attended. All who came

properly recommended were received. It was not a condition that the college should furnish the students, but only that it should furnish instruction, which it did.

The resolve was imperative, to pay \$1,000 a year for five years. Had the money not been drawn in that time it could not have been claimed. Had there been a question about the right to use, year by year, the annual instalment, the time to raise that question was in 1855, after the first class had been taught and the first \$1,000 had been received. Neither the State Treasurer nor the Trustees expressed a doubt about the matter. One of the Trustees was Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, a gentleman of great experience and acknowledged eminence in the legal profession. He helped frame the Resolve in question, and was some time Treasurer of the College. He thought then and says now that in his opinion, the Trustees acted according to the terms and intention of the Resolve, and he says the same of the Resolve of 1855, granting the \$10,000. If lawyers disagree, who are to settle the case? Though the Trustees considered their obligation to furnish instruction for State scholars terminated at the end of the five years, they passed a vote to keep the remaining State Scholarships open till all were taken up. The whole amount now unapplied is only \$750, and a part of this will be needed for students who have not yet completed their course of study.

The grant of \$10,000 in 1855, to aid in providing a building and for other purposes, was used according to the terms of the Resolve. The word "providing," as was intended, left the Trustees free to hire, build, or purchase. Four years passed before the whole grant was received; the College had to hire apartments in the mean time, and still occupies a hired building. An effort was made to purchase of the City of Boston a building, which was occupied some years, but the war interfered with carrying through the undertaking, and at the request of the Trustees the city resumed possession. A full account is given

of this matter in the Report of the College for 1865, already furnished to the Legislature.

About \$9,000 have been expended in "providing" a building. The error in the report of the Committee on Education which the Secretary explained to the Judiciary Committee, and also in the "Circular" from which this Committee make extracts, was this: the Committee on Education say that this grant of \$10,000 "has been used for the general purposes of the institution." That was *not* admitted by the Trustees nor alleged by the Petitioners. The attention of the Chairman of the Committee on Education being called to that point he said he meant to include in the term "general purposes" the money applied on the building account; that is, the grant was applied in providing a building and for other purposes of the institution. Instead of correcting the error the report of the Judiciary Committee rather heightens it by putting the word "all" into the sentence — the money "was all used for the general purposes of the institution."

The Judiciary Committee do not say that the *terms* of the Resolve have not been complied with. The terms are very general, — "this sum to be applied in providing a suitable building, library, apparatus, and other necessary furniture and fixtures, and in otherwise promoting the objects of the Society and its institution."

If the conditional \$10,000 could have been promptly made up, with little expense, more might have been devoted to the building. But it required between two and three years of persevering labor to raise this sum; more than half of which had to be picked up in sums varying from one dollar to twenty dollars, the expenses of the College all this time running on and requiring to be met. Had the Committee better known the difficulties that have attended this enterprise, and the labors that have been performed, they would have been less harsh in their judgment. It would have been as gratifying to the Trus-

tees as to any persons interested in the object, to have devoted the whole \$20,000 to securing a permanent building; but as the Resolve gave them entire liberty they did what they then thought, and now think, was best, under the circumstances, for the interests of the institution. In consequence of this aid from the State, and the management of the Trustees, the College was kept in uninterrupted operation, and \$30,000 in permanent funds were secured to it, while it was using the \$15,000 granted by the State.

The Committee say that "one of the allegations of the petitioners is, that among the uses to which the \$2,500 so obtained from the State was applied, was employing agents to go about the country and solicit subscriptions for a second \$2,500." This allegation is wholly without foundation, as the Committee might have easily learned by inquiring of the Trustees.

In 1859, in accordance with a requirement of the Legislature in cases of this kind, the Treasurer of the College, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, made a return to the State Auditor of the manner in which the instalment of \$2,500, received the previous year, had been used. The State Auditor received the paper and the State Treasurer paid over the next instalment, thus indicating that everything was right.

In speaking of the meetings for the election of officers, the Committee select the worst specimen and add, "the same defect has existed in nearly, if not every, subsequent election." This is so far from the facts as stated in the "Circular," from which the Committee quote liberally, that at the *five* "subsequent elections" there were a legal number present according to the Committee's own construction of the charter; and never in any instance, except the one cited by the Committee, has a meeting lacked more than one of a full quorum, independently of the members about to retire.

As to the election of officers, the Committee on Education did not feel so clear as to pass upon that point themselves, but

had it referred to the Judiciary Committee. The Trustees may therefore well be excused if they overlooked or mistook the meaning of the charter in that particular. It is obvious that the four members who go out annually are entitled to act, at the annual meeting at which their term of office expires, on all business except that of voting for their successors. No one alleges that they did vote; and the only question is, whether there must be a full quorum present *besides* the outgoing members, in order legally to fill the four vacancies. As if there should be just the quorum, of one hundred, of the House of Representatives present, and a question should arise upon which some of those present were prohibited, under the rule, from voting. Would the House omit to act on the question because there was not a quorum present independently of the non-voting members? It is quite likely that the legal nicety might escape notice. As even the question of the voting of the soldiers in the House, upon the bounty bill, was not raised by the Judiciary Committee or any other members till after considerable voting had taken place upon the subject.

In regard to the income of the Wade Scholarship Fund, a careful reading of the extracts from the "Circular" in the Committee's Report will explain the view the Trustees took of that matter. Four legal gentlemen have been in the Board during the time this income has been thus applied. The will simply says, the income is to be used in aiding certain students. Students have been aided to the amount of more than half of the income, and will be aided to the full amount of the balance. What stands to the credit of the fund is tuition fees paid in advance. The Committee do not seem to be aware that tuition fees, after they are received, in colleges, usually go to pay professors' salaries, and any other expenses; had they been, they would not have spoken of the use of the income for "the general purposes of the institution" as a gross misuse of these tuition fees.

The Committee italicise certain lines from the Secretary's Circular, and try to make them appear as justifying a known misuse of trust funds; but the language will bear no such construction when taken in connection with what they had just quoted from the Trustees' Report to the Committee on Education, that "the Trustees, among whom have been prominent legal gentlemen, considering the fact that the college received all suitable applicants as fast as they came, and stood ready to take others, to the full number admissible, as soon as they should apply, felt fully authorized to use the income at once, or keep it on hand, as might best promote the success of the institution."

The Committee ask how soon the money used in advance of the attendance of the scholars is to be replaced. Students are to be received, and the amount of their tuition fees to be charged against the Fund till the account is balanced; which will not require a long time, as the number of students is increasing. Part of the balance is already spoken for.

The Committee say that the Secretary's keeping an accurate account with the Fund and crediting the balance to it "makes the breach of trust more flagrant." Now, it happens that about half of the whole income since the Fund was left was received and disbursed by Lorenzo Burge, Esq., some years Treasurer, without any assistance from the Secretary, and two of the professors, who now petition the Legislature and accuse the Trustees, drew on that Treasurer for their salaries. The Committee, therefore, lay to the Secretary's charge other people's doings.

The Committee think that the statement in the Circular that "it is the duty of the Secretary and general agent, as the only paid officer, to do most of the work, and to have a vigilant oversight of the affairs of the institution," relieves the Trustees of much of the praise or blame in the management of the institution." Does the faithful performance of duty by an overseer

in a cotton manufactory relieve the corporation of responsibility for its management?

The Treasurer of the College asks no release from responsibility on account of any assistance rendered by the Secretary as clerk; nor do the Trustees approve in the least degree of placing upon the Secretary responsibility that belongs to the corporation.

Having thus noticed the main points in the Committee's report it remains to make some general statements.

Though nothing of the kind is intimated in the petitions to the Legislature, it is now evident that the secret object of the petitioners was to break down the Secretary, Dr. Gregory, and get him turned out of the College. In their random attack they stumbled upon the alleged defect in the election of officers. This purpose of the petitioners, though kept out of sight in the petitions, is clearly developed in the Committee's report.*

The subscriber, therefore, wishes to say something of this gentleman and his relation to the College.

Dr. Gregory is a gentleman of liberal education, and culture, a graduate of Yale College, possessing abilities and attainments that would command various positions and a large salary. Though not a member of the medical profession, he has an honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine, and has the same claim to the title of Doctor as any physician or clergyman who has had an honorary doctorate conferred upon him. Though, in answer to an inquiry, the Committee, as the subscriber learns, were informed upon this point, they could not in their report

* This language was not intended to mean that the Committee had any knowledge of the original purpose of the leading petitioners, or had any previous purposes of their own, but simply that the thing which the petitioners desired and purposed — the expulsion of the Secretary — is clearly presented and provided for in the Committee's report. To see an unjust bearing upon the Secretary, it is only necessary to observe that while he is dealt with in the report in a most unsparing manner, a disposition is shown to relieve the other Trustees, some of whom, though for years associated with him, and alike responsible for the transactions complained of, are named in the new bill proposed.

treat the Secretary with respect enough to give him his legal title.

Dr. Gregory is the originator of the College, and has been the chief laborer in bringing it up to its present position. The Committee allude incidentally to his salary. He has labored hard and unceasingly at a salary of six hundred dollars a year, without any increase on account of depreciated currency and high prices of living. Upon this small allowance he has performed the miscellaneous services pertaining to the institution, and has secured for it most of its funds. The Wade Scholarship Fund of \$20,000, with \$10,000 more yet to come from the estate, is almost wholly due to his attention to the subject, and to Col. Wade's high regard for him and for the institution. He was the chief agent also in obtaining the Waterhouse professorship endowment of \$10,000, and almost the sole agent in obtaining the Raymond bequest of \$5,000. He obtained the signatures of a large number of the wealthiest citizens of Boston to petitions to the city government, asking the sale of a building lot to the college at a low rate, and when an offer of a lot worth \$30,000 had been made at fifty per cent. of its value, he raised over \$10,000, which, with Mr. Raymond's bequest, enabled the Trustees to pay for the building lot. In addition to all this, he has, during the whole period of near eighteen years, since the institution started, been a collecting agent for its general expenses.

The adversaries of the college, who are numerous and determined, knowing well that Dr. Gregory is the projector and chief agent in building it up, think, as it would seem, that anything that may be done to injure his reputation and secure his separation from the college will be the most effectual blow that can be struck at the success of the institution. And the Trustees would regard Dr. Gregory's removal from the college one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall it. If, in addition to his removal, he is branded as an unfit man to be connected with

the college, it will forever suffer for its parentage. The college, as the earliest institution of the kind in existence, is an honor to the capital city and the Commonwealth. As years pass away, it will rise higher in the regard of our people; and such unjust and harsh treatment as will be inflicted upon its founder if the Committee's report is sanctioned by the passage of the bill they recommend, will be anything but creditable to those who commit such injustice.

As a member of the State Senate and of the Committee on Education, in 1855 and 1856, when the grant of \$10,000 was made, and the College Charter was conferred, the subscriber had occasion to become acquainted with Dr. Gregory, and learned from him the history of the institution, and from that time to the present he has been a member of the Board of Trustees, and has had a high appreciation of the services of the Secretary.

JOHN BATCHELDER,

President N. E. Female Medical College.

LYNN, May 17th, 1866.

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CATEGORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE,
TO
THE PEOPLE OF THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

BY HELEN M. GASSETT.

BOSTON:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.
1855.

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CATEGORICAL ACCOUNT

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1881

EMMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE

THE JOURNAL OF THE NEW ENGLAND STATES

BY HENRY M. GARDNER

BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR

1881

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING been placed in an unfavorable position before the public, the past three and four years, and every effort having failed in bringing to light the false accusations with which I have been violently aspersed in pamphlet and newspaper, by the officers of the Female Medical College, and now having disposed of them for the present, by a question of law, I deem it my right and duty to seek redress at this present time in the form of a book ; giving every act within as clear and truthful as shall hereafter be proved to the public, if my witnesses lives are spared to them.

And now I most respectfully ask my native kindred and fellow-citizens, to read with unprejudiced feelings ; remembering that I am one who claims a right by birth for protection ; and no foreigner, colored or white — yet treated far worse by some of those who *exposed themselves* to prosecutions to save a poor unfortunate colored brother. I truly commend the gentleman in doing all within his power to rescue one poor creature from the accursed and shameful sin of slavery. But I wish to obtain *only that right* in my own land *they seek to confer on foreigners and fugitives* ; which they have most wickedly sought to wrest from me ; that I may have the privilege of obtaining a livelihood without being compelled to beg, or live in an impeachable manner.

SOME ACCOUNT OF AN EXPERIENCE

WITH THE

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL INSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I.

IN the month of August, 1849, I was in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, on a visit. The 15th I called upon Dr. Waters, 115 Court street, and while there I noticed among several papers of various kinds a circular of the American Medical Education Society, and made some inquiries of Dr. W. about this society, and of some others. He gave me general information, and then said, that they were in want of an agent, — that they had wanted him to act as one, but his time being so much occupied it was impossible for him to do so. Why won't you take it? I think you would succeed admirably.

Well, it was something new to me. I did not know anything about the business or the society. He then gave me a pamphlet to read, and a circular. The pamphlet was very improperly written, and the manner the cause was advocated through it I entirely disapproved of — and informed him to that effect on the 20th. I also told him if it were revised some good might be realized in carrying out a book,

but not such a book as that, for it condemned the faculty *in toto*. And in order to have such a cause flourish, they ought to co-operate with them, and that without their approval, they must and could not expect very great success. He thought himself it would tend to do more good if modified, though true.

I then inquired of him their terms in reference to the agency. He said that they gave 33 per cent., but if they could get one who would be willing to devote her whole time to the cause, that they would give 50. I told him that I had never had any kind of experience in such kind of business, and that I hardly knew what to say about it, but finally concluded to make a trial the next day, and I did, and continued so to do till the 5th of September, when I told Dr. W. unless the book was revised, I should make no further attempt. I could obtain nothing, especially if ladies saw the book, and any one I met with knew Mr. Gregory. The title of the book was "*Female Midwifery Advocated.*"

I will give a few statements of the manner this book was received — to show the feelings of persons on reading a few of its pages:

"I do not believe any of those statements. I have always had physicians, and never have had occasion to feel dissatisfied with their practice." — "I have examined your book, but I do not wish to purchase it." — "I looked into the book you left the other day, and committed it to the flames. Here is the pay for it, but do not offer any such book to any other person, for it is not proper to have it in the house." — "Whoever published such a book had better go out with a saw and saw-horse upon his back, than seek a living by publishing such a work as that. It shows their society to be not what it should be." This is a specimen of the reception I met with in the sale of said book.

On the 5th of September, I decided to carry out no more books till revised. I could do better I found when I did not take them out with me, than when I did. Mr. Gregory spoke of another agent — a Mrs. Heald. If I wished to learn anything more definite about the society I could call upon her — that she had attended the school the spring term, and since she had been engaged in the agency. I called upon her, and made inquiries of her success. She said that she had been out in the north and west part of the city, but her success had been so poor that she was going out no more. She named another person engaged in the agency at the south-east part of the city, and that her success was no better. From what I learnt of Mrs. H. I felt less encouraged in my success — but thought the cause a good one, provided I could get an interest among an influential class of ladies; and concluded to continue in the agency a while longer. And did so until December, when I thought best to give the agency up; persons having so little interest in the cause, and to obtain enough to pay even my board I did not and could not. I informed Dr. W. and Mr. Gregory thus, but Mr. G. said I must not think of such a thing — that he found that I was making a favorable impression upon the minds of persons and in the public, and that I must continue in the agency if it took every cent I collected, till the public became more acquainted with its object, when the people would give more readily, and then I should be able to pay in the arrearages. I will relate a few instances of my labors in the field when first I began in this agency:

Many days in the winter of forty-nine and fifty, I was out making calls upon our most wealthy and influential ladies, when it was almost impossible for a female to be out. I found it difficult to see the lady of the house — she was either out or going out, or had company, or was sick. Of a pleasant

day it was next to impossible to see any one that I wanted to. On some persons that winter I called five, six and seven times before getting admission, and the sum of one dollar each and their names. I commenced with but six names upon my book, and it being so little known people were very slow to give, and most doubted the expediency of such a society.

The 22d of December, Samuel Gregory called — recommended my going to South Boston ; thought that I might be more successful there — that it had been talked of rather more, and that several women had attended the school from that place. He also told me at this time that for all the women I could obtain or influence to attend the school I should have five dollars each, and recommended my calling upon one in particular, and I did, but she declined having anything to do with the matter, and said that she had already more of that kind of business than she knew how to attend to, — that she had no trouble, and that Mr. Gregory called upon her, and she had informed him so. But when I reminded him of it on the 13th of December, 1850, he promptly denied it.

In January I made several excursions to South Boston, through Gregory's suggestion, and was no more successful there than in the city proper.

He then recommended my going to Lowell, there being a great number of women in the place, and thought I might meet with several that would favor the cause and would like to attend the school.

I went there on the 23d of February, and stopped one fortnight. I did not meet with any better success. I just made out to obtain enough to cover my expenses, and enable me to return to the city. There were five women in Lowell who gave me encouragement that they would attend the

school in the fall if we got it into operation. But I was to visit there again before it commenced, to let them know of its success, when they would give me something for its support, and in the meanwhile engaged to do what they could to interest others to aid and to attend the school.

I did not visit there again ; for at the time I had made my arrangements too, my faith was somewhat weakened and I could not agree with the officers in the management. There were none appeared from Lowell the fall term ; probably they concluded it had fallen through.

After I returned from Lowell I remained in the city ten weeks, and was more successful ; so much so, that I obtained quite a handsome list of names, with one dollar each accompanying them ; and the influence of these ladies' names secured a charter from the Legislature on the 30th day of April, A. D., eighteen hundred and fifty.

In the course of the past ten weeks I met with several ladies that had given to other agents. I told Gregory of it, and he advised me to say nothing about it, as it would be an injury to the cause ; but that I had better put their names in my book ; I did so. But when I gave up my books I erased them, and all names of persons who had given encouragement, that they would give at some future day, and their names be used as an influence upon others. Gregory said, when you call upon persons that are influential in society, such as ministers and wives, &c., if they do not feel able to contribute and approve the cause — put their names down if they are willing, that should constitute them members, the same as if they paid one dollar. Because, others seeing such names might be induced to contribute, when otherwise they would not. Article fifth of the Constitution, 1849, reads thus : — “ Any citizen of the United States, may become a member of this Society, by subscribing, or direct-

ing his name to be affixed to the constitution, and paying to the Treasurer the sum of one dollar. All future aid from members voluntary. Members and their families will have access to the Society's rooms, which will be furnished with a valuable lecturing apparatus, engravings and works of reference as fast as funds permit, and will in time become an interesting and instructive Anatomical and Physiological Museum.

You see the fee was one dollar, and Gregory said that those who contributed that sum were not to be yearly assessed, and to be particular in informing them so, because many decline aiding a society on that account, fearing yearly assessments.

A person now to become a member, is obliged to pay twenty times as much without receiving as many advantages as were offered to the members in the first of its organization.

A great many people have said to me, we have given to the cause for the reason they educate women that are poor, and assist that class in getting a better and more respectable livelihood. They had not the slightest idea however, that their money went not for that. But it is true, it does not — not one cent of it, and never has, — all pupils have paid their own fees until this year, and the State paid the teachers.

CHAPTER II.

On the thirteenth of May, I went to New Bedford. S. Gregory thought I might meet with favors, as he had just returned from that place, where he had been lecturing upon the subject.

But while there, three weeks, I did not meet with one person that heard of him, or his lectures, or knew anything of the society. I labored there and at Fairhaven, Nantucket and the Vineyard, with more success than during the winter months.

On the seventeenth of June, I went to Concord, N. H., where I labored as I had done in other places I had visited. I met with many ladies disposed to participate in the cause, provided there could be constitutions framed and given them, embracing those principles that I represented. But they did not feel disposed to do anything unless something of the kind could be effected, because they had no money to spare to be carried out of the place for any other cause.

I will relate the form I advocated to them, the same as in other places. The cause to be carried out, and as I felt it would be the most conducive to the prosperity and success of the society.

1. That in every town there be a society, auxiliary to the principal one in Boston, and that each society select any one in their own vicinity, possessing the character requisite for the profession, and provide all the means for her, if the person was unable to pay her own expenses. This seemed

to meet their views, very favorably indeed, but the ladies were more particular on this point in this place than they had been in any other town or city I had visited. They were not disposed to make an effort unless they could have a constitution and by-laws, with a book arranged and sent them from the officers recognizing them as an Auxiliary Society, and then they were very willing to make an effort to forward the project. I wrote to Samuel Gregory to the same effect, and received the following letter in answer to it, which I copy.

Boston, June 26th, 1850.

Mrs. Gassett :

Yours of the 24th is received. It seems that people are slow to give in Concord. It is possible that the nearer Boston, where people have heard more about it the better will be your success, though I hope you may do something in Manchester and Nashau. As to Auxiliary Societies, I think we had better throw aside all machinery and aim at *one* object — *getting funds now*.

We wish to simplify and consolidate our business. Having a corporation to conduct the School and Hospital, all we want now is to get the school provided for, and then advertise broad cast for pupils, just as the Mass. Medical College does. Those ladies who have joined already can call at the school, and hear some lectures as promised; and any who may henceforth give may have access to the rooms to see the apparatus. But that is about all that it would be best to promise them. I find that gentlemen give quite as readily, to say nothing about any society; some dislike to join a society, lest they should be called on annually, or come under some liabilities for the future. Therefore, of late, I simply ask for the money, — present only one idea to them and they are more apt to do something.

You perceive that the circular advises gentlemen and ladies to select and aid suitable women. If any feel interested enough to follow the advise, they can look round among their friends and neighbors, or can form an association if they choose to accomplish the object. I have found that persons rarely ever do much in their own towns, unless it is while the agents is with them; and then too, having so many things to plan and effect, it exhausts the strength and time of an agent. And after all, leaves it doubtful whether the bird in the bush may hereafter be caught. If ladies wish to aid the fund, they can follow the suggestion of the circular to collect money of their acquaintances and others, and send it to the society.

That would not throw any blame on the society if the persons should not prove trust-worthy, because they would have no special authority, only to such as expect to accomplish a good deal, by making it their sole business. What people do in their own villages or cities let them do it on their own responsibility; and then they will obtain money only from those who are willing to trust it in their hands. The circular is intended to be a sufficient guide for those who wish to aid or send pupils. It is well to encourage those ideas as you pass along as secondary matters. But what we must find first, is the means to put our school in a suitable condition for the Fall term. Mr. Marsh agrees in these views. Hope you will not be discouraged because we don't happen to agree exactly on the points you mentioned.

SAMUEL GREGORY.

From the foregoing letter any one could become an agent, male or female, with no impunity whatever. The encouragement is given and held out to others.

Permit me to illustrate upon the preceding epistle,

though not perhaps in a very competent manner. Yet it may serve in part, to convey my own ideas to those who may read this publication, of the manner I contended said institution ought to be carried out, it being at this time that I wrote to Mr. Gregory for constitutions to be framed for Auxiliary Societies, and received said letter in answer to it.

Suppose I was a beggar, without profession, trade, or money, and should go into a village, town or city, where there was no church after my order of worship, and in order to have one built to accommodate myself, especially in pecuniary point of view, should seek in the first place to get a few individuals to give their influence so far as their names might go, but not to ask time or money.

I commence by presenting a drawn up petition to different persons. I say nothing about what it is for, but simply demand money. I send another agent into the same field, and only one idea is to be presented. It is given at hazzard, no interest whatever is excited by either party. I continue in either or city till I succeed in obtaining a sum sufficient to keep myself and agent finely filled and furnished with the best materials, affording us all the luxuries of life. I advertise broad cast that such a church is in contemplation, meetings are held a certain season of the year, all the rest of the year it remains unoccupied, paying several hundred dollars to no purpose or for any good, except to the owner, myself and agent.

This advertising broad cast encourages those who may by chance see it to give when called upon, to said cause.

The church is kept continually before the public in contemplation of being built. Reports are issued yearly giving statements in the last that appeared in the first, how very important that such a church should be built, the good to be realized from it, and that a hundred thousand dollars is needed to furnish a suitable one.

But when you seek to find it you may by chance meet with some one that has heard of it through the papers, or has aided when called upon for the purpose of ridding himself or herself of an importuning agent or they may not have heard of it.

At last an effort is made to find it, and after a great search succeed in discovering the whole of ten years subscriptions public and private, stowed into a little small back room in an upper story of a building. You enter, and on looking around the room you see some fifteen or twenty pieces of paste board hanging, a box in one corner with a figure within, that is never used and of no service to any one or any thing, some five or six rows of seats and benches and a closet containing a piece of furniture to lecture over. Such being the substance of what you can discover of the beggar's church out of the fifteen thousand dollars, it being all there is to show for it, and I have used none of the subscription money either to pay the ministers when I have employed them.

But people begin to feel its rather more of a nuisance than practicable, and lessen their subscriptions, and having pretty well sponged the public, I now appeal to the State Legislature. While in session, I follow the representatives up closely, — give a few lectures upon the origin, condition and progress of my church, and of the feasibility in having such an institution, — till I obtain from that body the sum of ten thousand dollars, provided I can get ten thousand more from other sources.

Having obtained fifteen thousand dollars and no questions being asked either in private or public, I can still continue to figure as best suits my pleasure, seated like a lord in a finely furnished room, paying rent at the rate of one hundred and seventy-five dollars per year, boarding at one of

best of hotels in the city, nothing short of a dollar per day. I walk at my leisure, — keep little at a distance that I may not be questioned too closely about my affairs, but just near enough to know how to take what may come up by mouth or in print, — in other words just stand behind the door, ready to arrest all that should be likely to come up, to oppose my genteel sustenance and my very pious and dignified garb of righteousness, there being few who wear a more sanctimonious exterior.

Twenty thousand dollars more are claimed and allowed. What am I to accomplish with that sum? Assist some relations; it costs considerable for me to live; I have a mother to support, and it costs something to do that; and then the preparation of reports yearly so that I may be represented as yet alive.

But at the end of another ten years if I am not deprived of my public maintainance, I may get married and live in as genteel and fashionable a style as any of our nabobs, — and certainly there is no harm in begging if I can do it genteelly and be supported by the wealthy as well as the more common class, even if I do take a dollar now and then from a person that labors hard with his own hands, and earns it by the sweat of his brow. My plot is laid, and if it be under a pretence, I shall and will persist in thus pursuing it, and erect the church. Any one who attempts to make any proposition to amend the management of it I silence with the assistance of an ignorant and zealous agent, who, if she has the slightest idea that I am about to call on a lady, will be immediately in pursuit of me, till every scheme that is in process becomes void of interest because I must pay no regard to contributors or life members, they being nothing but members, having no rights in its management, and the gentlemen whose names stand as officers having no

objections to the use of their names so long as I can manage it without their assistance. Therefore I have everything my own way by keeping every one in his or her own place.

Hence I am finely fitted and equipped for another term of one, two, or three years expedition.

Thus ends the history of the first five, seven, or ten years of my contemplated church, with not an individual personally active or interested in its management except myself and agent. If I wished to establish myself in business, would it be more workmanlike to put my building in readiness by fitting in my machinery before making proper inquiries and arrangements for the article I intended to manufacture? — or would it be more proper and conducive to my prosperity to advertise broadcast — without further explanation or exertion?

But I will return to the subject from which I have unavoidably digressed, viz., to represent the method I earnestly labored for, in conducting the institution under consideration.

In the first place I sought to interest the ladies. Secondly, to organize auxiliary societies. Thirdly, to seek those persons competent for the profession. Fourthly, *funds*.

Let me explain my motive in first interesting ladies. It struck my mind forcibly at the commencement of this agency, the importance of each lady's duty to attend and contribute each proportionably in funds or efforts; therefore I called only upon the females, feeling it was a duty alone for them to conduct and carry into operation, and I succeeded far better than I had reason to expect when I began; for when I carried out at first a bad representation, I was received with an upbraiding word and air; but when that was left behind, the reverse was made manifest, and I could then

converse with them freely, and seldom left one unfavorably impressed, but usually more disposed to think of it, and she perhaps would give when I called again. And I aimed to make each feel the good she might do in her own family or circle of acquaintance by being thus interested. That as a general thing nurses have no advantages, and a great complaint has always been made by physicians, in the ill-success of ignorant ones, and that females often met with those persons who seem to have been born nurses and thus have it within their power to advance the cause better than a company of men.

There are very few ladies in this country of reforms that are not more or less acquainted with and interested in one or more worthy persons who are suited in capacity for good nurses and midwives, that are in indigent circumstances ;— and if the ladies I called upon in the years forty-nine and fifty had been properly sought and interested upon such duty, in the year fifty-one the duty of selecting such persons with the assurance of encouragement, and aiding them through with a thorough education in midwifery ; after these efforts had been accomplished, these ladies would with deeper interest sought to have prosperously sustained them in the public by employing them and encouraging others to do so likewise.

Secondly. Auxiliaries would have accomplished the same as above described instead of one individual, and more widely have diffused the knowledge of said institution ; so instead of not having one auxiliary, there might have been fifty or an hundred at the present day, as well as that number of students.

In the third place. The duty of seeking out suitable persons is one of great importance. The person desired should have a natural gift for this kind of business as for any other.

For instance, for dress, bonnet or cap making, a person with a natural tact at dress-making rarely makes a mistake in a good fit, and giving satisfaction to the patronizer, and in far less time than the one deficient in the necessary qualifications.

The person possessing the qualifications for cap-making would complete one in half an hour; one deficient could not in a lifetime, and the last is not to be compared with the first in her natural endowments.

So persons to be educated ought to possess those faculties of application which should enable them to perform their duties judiciously; — as they are those of life or death; and many persons of the kind might have been obtained in the year 1851, if the proper means had been used to encourage them.

But the method they at first adopted and since have carried out, of presenting one idea only, viz., MONEY, and resorting to gentlemen for that instead of making the ladies sensible that it was their duty, and their business devolving on them, to make every effort to rightly establish this enterprise, has resulted in turning the minds of many who formerly advocated the cause with zeal.

Fourthly. Funds when needed for any laudable purpose are always obtainable, if rightly sought for.

Now, through the instrumentality of these auxiliary societies, organized through the state and states, a sympathy and union of feeling would have been excited in the community to act voluntarily in providing and sustaining the cause; for the reason that every one would have been made properly acquainted with the merits of the parent society, established in the city of Boston, and the recognition of them as members of it would have done much towards interesting themselves and families in its progress, as to characters and funds.

But let us look at the subject in the light of presenting one idea only, that of advertising broadcast for money, which appears to be the prominent one of Mr. Gregory. In the fall of 1850, that I was connected with the society, there were twenty ; the next term, sixteen or eighteen ; and finally in the year fifty-three or fifty-four, they had from two to five ; and this last term, *one only* that had interest enough for a professional education, who paid her tuition. Here is a decrease of nineteen since the years 1850-51, of females seeking such a desirable object. They have advertised largely, but only one attended that paid her own expenses. But on looking over their reports you will see charges for extra travelling expenses to get pupils to come under the new application — to the legislature, instead of seeking them through proper means, and in all their efforts they did not get the number of forty from April to November ; only part of the number, some thirteen or fourteen, from November first till some time the latter part of December, or first of January, then not but twenty-seven ; yet they drew all the money (one thousand dollars) for the forty. Some pupils seemed to have jealous feelings towards certain of the teachers for their lack of interest in instructing them ; some receiving better and more attention than others ; and rather uncomfortable feelings on the whole were often manifested by the neglected portion of students.

My comments having been very long upon the letter in question, my reasons for them are, that all persons may judge my views and interest ; whether I was seeking honor, money or the good which might flow from such a society ; if rightly conducted and established. Also, that every one can clearly comprehend the reason of my wishing to withdraw all the interest and support which I had ardently and freely labored to bestow in and upon the institution.

CHAPTER III.

June 26, left Concord and went to Manchester and stopped four days in this place. I met the same objection here as in Concord, and the same feelings were exhibited in forming a society.

I left there on the fourth day, intending to visit there again, as I learnt that there were three females that were out of town, and the probability was if I could see them they might attend the school the fall term.

I went to Nashua on the 29th of June. In the evening received a letter from Mr. Gregory in the following terms:

BOSTON, June 29, 1850.

Mrs. Gassett:

Since I wrote to you, we have an opportunity to hire Dr. Winslow Lewis' house, furniture and 3,000 volumes of medical library, and everything for a complete school.

He is going to Europe for two or more years. In this way we get the whole weight of his influence, and he being President of the Boylston Medical School, it will aid us more than anything that has happened of late.

The rent is pretty high of course; but we are making an effort to find enough to pledge \$100 each to meet it. If we can't get \$100 subscribers, we shall endeavor to get \$50. Jonas Chickering headed the list yesterday with \$50.

Now I have been thinking that you might aid very much by calling on some of the rich ladies whom you have seen

here, and this special object will strike them so favorably that they will give fifty or a hundred dollars each for the purpose.

If they are out in their country seats you can ride out and find them. We have but a fortnight left, for Dr. L. Now, Dr. Rolfe, (the term being closed,) myself, you and Mrs. Golding, I think, can secure the whole in that time.

If your *funds* will *permit*, you had better come immediately, I think, and aid us in raising the amount needed for the house. If we can secure it, it will help to draw in pupils, and some of the rooms can be used for patients. Please write on receipt of this, unless you come yourself.

Very respectfully,

S. GREGORY.

I received the above letter on Saturday evening, and returned on Monday morning, the first day of July. Immediately after arriving in the city I called at 25 Cornhill street, at Mr. Marsh's store, where Mr. Gregory had his office, and Mr. G. stated to me the particulars in reference to their taking the house, and said if I could call upon some of the wealthy ladies who had contributed five dollars, and make known their intentions, they might be willing to put down fifty or one hundred dollars, to be paid in at certain times when it best suited their convenience.

I made a great many calls, but found most of those persons that Mr. Gregory thought might give, out of the city for the season, so that it was impossible to accomplish much in point of security, the little time I had to do it, in that manner.

Every evening Mr. Gregory called to ascertain my success through the day till the ninth, when he came with a note from Dr. Lewis to himself, as follows :

"Tuesday, July 9th, 1850.

Dear Sir :

I must consider that our compact about my house will terminate on Friday next, as some good offers have been made to me which I think I shall accept.

To Dr. Gregory

Your obedient serv't.,

or

WINSLOW LEWIS."

Dr. Rolfe.

He stated to me at this time that he was fearful that they should not be able to get the house, as he could not get any one to become responsible for a sum beyond fifty dollars; and only one hundred and fifty dollars by four individuals. It occurred to me that some acquaintances of mine who lived out of town might feel disposed to do something for the cause, and I proposed going to see them. Mr. Gregory favored it. I went the next day and returned in the evening, but did not succeed as I was in hopes to do.

Thursday, A. M., Gregory called to learn the result. I gave it as above.

I then asked him if the Directors would not secure it for the cause. He said that they were not disposed to. It struck me rather strangely that they were not willing, amply able as they were, and so many of them too. And I remarked that I thought that they could not have much interest in the cause to let such an opportunity pass; and that if they could not do that, I should feel actually ashamed of them as Directors, and then said, if Dr. Lewis would accept of a note of four hundred from me as security I would give it. Mr. G. wished for some references to learn my responsibility, and I referred him to Dr. Waters and gave the reason for referring him to Dr. W., only that if he should make any farther inquiries he would not get the security, for my

friends would so much oppose my taking such a responsibility, without other security.

He called upon Dr. W., who told him that I was good for that amount he had no doubt, but that he did not approve of their subjecting me to such liabilities ; that he did not think it proper for them to accept of it, if I were willing they should. Gregory said that I would be running no risk, for I should have the agency and could get the amount and hold the same in case of any arrearages ; so that would protect me against pecuniary loss.

After this interview with Dr. Waters, he called upon me, and desired me to call on Dr. Lewis and wife, and said that he had seen them and spoken of me to them, and if I should call on them they might feel more disposed to leave the house. I called accordingly, and had considerable conversation with the Doctor and his lady about their leasing the house and said if they should conclude to do so I should feel as much interested in preserving with care what they were disposed to leave for the Society's use, as if it were my own.

On the fifteenth of July, Mr. Gregory called again to see if I were still willing to give security. I told him I was, if they could do no better.

He assured me that I run no risk if I did give it ; that I had the agency and could obtain the amount at once, and hold it in case of any arrearages of rent.

He then asked me to write a note, to be given to Dr. Lewis. I told him I would if he would tell me how he would like one written ; or if *he* would write one, I would sign it. He replied, if I would get the stationery, pen, ink and paper, he would. I did so, and he wrote one, and I copied it, and signed it. It was as follows :

"BOSTON, July 15, 1850.

Dr. Lewis :

Should you let your house to the Female-Medical-Education-Society, I hereby agree to be responsible for any arrearages of rent to the amount of four hundred dollars.

HELEN M. GASSETT."

It may appear strange to many that I was willing to give the above security, I will therefore give my reasons that the reader may better estimate the interest I had in the cause, and the disadvantages I labored under in not having a location.

I had labored a year into one month without having other than an office to refer all who made inquiries of the society's edifice. And a few of these inquiries represented as they were made, will, I think, readily convince any candid person of the importance of having a desirable and suitable location for the building.

"Where is your Society located?" We have only an office at present, and that is at Mr. B. Marsh's book store, 25 Cornhill street. "What do they want of money then?" To provide them with better and more suitable apartments. "What have they done with the money they have already obtained?" They have not yet made any proficiency in the cause; it is in its infancy, and it being very important that every lady should know the merits of such a cause, in order to have it occupy and maintain a commendable position in the public, they are obliged to be at the expense of sending out agents, and it being so little known very few have contributed to its support.

Many ladies have declined aiding for no other reason than having no Society apartments, and have said, "We

should have no objections in giving a little something, if you had any head quarters to represent your Society from."

Meeting with these objections daily, I fully realized the importance of some suitable situation like the one in question. But I had not placed myself at all prominent in point of getting it only by Mr. Gregory's solicitations. But whatever I could do to establish one through my labor and means, I was willing to accomplish, taking only the agency for my security.

CHAPTER IV.

At the time I signed the obligation, Mr. Gregory wanted to know if I would not take the house. I promptly declined. He wished to know my objections. I told him that I felt sometimes the agency to be more than I knew how to manage, and for me to take the house, and continue the agency at the same time, would be quite too great a tax on my health.

He then said that Dr. Rolfe, the teacher, wanted it. I told him he had better let him have it if he were a suitable person. (I had never seen this gentleman, and of course knew nothing about him.) But Mr. Gregory offered the following objections to the individual :

The first was, that the Doctor and his wife were country people, and not accustomed to city life and society ; and thus, when ladies called at the house, the visitors would not be favorably impressed, as such occupants were not very neat nor particular.

The second was, that they had several small children, and that they would be about the house and be likely to be too much in the way, and it would not look well to strangers when they called to see children around.

The third was, that the Doctor was very familiar with some of the women that attended the school, the Spring term who were of the common class ; and that these women would be too familiar, and being about the house would make its

apartments too common ; and he thought under these circumstances that the doctor would not do as well as a stranger.

He thought further, it would be best to get a stranger — a person of dignity, to keep this common class of women in their place. He meant those who had attended the school.

I told him I was acquainted with a lady possessing the capacity requisite for such a situation, if she could be obtained, and that if they could not procure one to their satisfaction, I would ascertain if this person would come.

On the nineteenth of July, Mr. G. called again, and stated that they had not obtained any one, and that they would like to see the lady I had mentioned, and recommended my going into the country for her, that by going to see her I could represent the condition of things better than by letter ; and if she thought favorable of matters and could come to the city with me and see for herself she would be better able to judge what she would do.

On the twentieth of July, I went into the country for the lady, and returned on Monday, the twenty-second, she coming with me. Mr. Gregory made his proposition to her about taking the house, but she had so little time to digest them, being obliged to return the day following, that she left without deciding what course to take ; but was to give the subject due consideration, and return her decision by letter.

On the twenty-fifth, Mr. Gregory wished me to have another interview with her. He had received a letter from her, stating objections in taking the house, and if I would go that I might obviate them better by personal conference than by letter. I accordingly went in the afternoon and returned the next morning. She gave some encouragement of taking it, but was not wholly prepared to say what she would do till she had seen some of her friends ; and after she had con-

sulted them she would then give her answer, (which would be in a few days,) by letter to S. Gregory.

I now felt that I had done all that I could to encourage her in taking the house, and as she seemed to speak rather more encouragingly I had no doubt but what she would take it, and concluded to return to my agency again, for I had increased by responsibilities and liabilities, and knew that I had got to be pretty expeditious to accomplish all I had in contemplation of doing for the three months to come. And on the first day of August, I left Boston for New Bedford and Newport. I had no doubt in my mind but what this lady, or some other person would be obtained, and would be in the house long before my return.

I was absent one fortnight. When I came back I was not a little surprised to find the house was still vacant, and she whose services I had made such efforts to secure decided not to engage, and I further learned from Mr. Gregory that he had made no exertions to procure a substitute, but had remained quietly for my return.

He gave for his reasons in not seeking another person that he thought best to await my return, and then get me to go and see her again, that I might effect more for him than to write, and if possible to get her to come to the city again with me. Accordingly I went in the afternoon, after arriving from Newport, although the day before I had given myself no repose, nor for thirty-six hours had I taken any rest, and on learning of this delinquency twelve hours more were added to this one day's service.

The lady returns the day following with me to the city and saw Mr. G., then went back undecided, but on the eighteenth August, I received a letter from her, stating that this undertaking had impaired her health somewhat, but she had not given up the idea of taking the house, and she should

like the propositions upon paper as she had not a clear understanding of them. I informed Mr. Gregory of her request, and his answer to her by letter is as follows :—

“The Society, as you are aware, pay \$1200 rent and the addition of taxes. We retain the office and the use of one room, for the pupils to occupy what time may be needed during the day for study and for lectures. With these reservations, worth perhaps \$400. We offer you the house and furniture for \$400 a year. We pay all the taxes. You are to have the care of the house and office, and the office bell, except the Doctor will answer his own bell nights. You are also to wait on ladies who may call to inquire about the affairs of the institution, and give any necessary information respecting the school. You can have also the opportunity to take charge of the intelligence department for nurses in the office, and have one-half of the receipts of the same, the fee will be one dollar for obtaining a nurse through the office, and learning something of her qualifications and references. As there are two hundred or more nurses in the city constantly changing places, it is reasonable to suppose there will be some income from this source.”

On the nineteenth August, Mr. Gregory wished me to take a few of my things and go to the house, and proposed my getting some person in to commence cleaning and getting it in order, and await the decision of the lady, and that there might be some persons disposed to call, seeing the sign upon the house.

On the twentieth of August, I went, but with reluctance, for I felt more like taking six weeks rest than applying my already overtaxed powers to cleaning and putting a house in order for another person, and to get in persons to do the cleaning. I was exposing myself to much greater expense, besides doing all the work. But I thought if the lady would

come, as appeared to be probable, she being just the person needed to fill this station, I would not shrink from the task till I saw every post filled and every duty performed.

On the twenty-seventh of August, I received a letter from her, stating her objections to taking the house. She says : "I know and feel assured, that you have done everything to make this situation you have offered me pleasant and agreeable; that you have worked hard to make my burden light; also that you would do everything to make it profitable; still I feel that I cannot undertake it with my present health, therefore, I have come to the conclusion to remain here for the present."

Thus ended my earnest efforts to procure the services of one who would have done much in placing the affairs of the institution in a favorable position in the community.

CHAPTER V.

My next effort was to get a gentleman and his wife to take the house. For several days I received considerable encouragement. But upon a more serious consideration, the applicants came to the conclusion that the annoyance of the pupils about the house, and the dining-room might be too common to afford them sufficient time to eat their meals unmolested.

I so informed Mr. Gregory, and he said that if they would take the house they might be assured of no trouble, for the pupils would have no more right in going through the rooms than in going into a neighbor's house ; and that they would not use the dining-room but a couple of hours, in the fore part or later part of the day, and if they should come in when that was occupied they could step into the office and be seated. I suggested this to them, but to no effect. They recommended a friend at Auburndale, and measures were taken by Mr. Gregory to obtain the person, but he failed in so doing.

On the fifth of September, Mr. T. Gilbert, J. P. Jewett, Mr. Gregory, President, Treasurer and Secretary, called at 75 Boylston street, and went over the house, into every part of it, and then retired to the office. After a while, S. Gregory returned and told me that the officers had decided upon my taking the house if I was willing, and that if I would do so, if there was anything to be made out of it, I might have the profit ; also, that I ought to have the place as I had labored hard, and done much for the society, and

that the terms were the same to me as to the lady we had tried to get so long.

I told him it was not a very desirable situation, however, I should try to do the best I could with it, by letting the rooms, or filling the house with boarders.

I was not prepared to enter into an arrangement of this kind ; therefore, I was obliged to labor expeditiously, the little time allotted to repair, clean, fit, make and arrange every thing suitable for boarders, by the the first of October, and the commencing of the school the first of November. *House-keepers* will better understand this than I am able to represent by words, and what was more difficult for me was being obliged to have all the care and labor, and then beg the funds to pay all expenses, and with such burthens upon me, Mr. Gregory was not satisfied, but even in the very heighth of my labors he came in several times and recommended my leaving the women to do the cleaning, and that I should go out and get money to pay some bills for printing and rent. I was rather indignant at such a proposition, feeling that the time he spent in sitting about the office and walking from one office to another might be quite as profitably employed in procuring the funds himself.

I did make the attempt, but found it not judicious, for when absent nothing was properly accomplished. I continued making an effort for a tenant, until the seventeenth of this month, when I gave up my room and boarding place in Blackstone Square.

On the nineteenth, Mr. Gregory called and made some inquiries about Dr. Rolfe, whether or not there were women in often to see him, and gave me information derogatory to his character, but wished nothing said about it as it would be an injury to the cause, and that they meant to get rid of him just as soon as they could procure any one to take his place.

On the twenty-sixth of September, a lady called to see if I had rooms to be let. I being out at the time, she was informed that I had none; that I had decided to fill the house with boarders instead of leasing my rooms. She thought if she could see me that she could make a proposition that might induce me to yield to her wishes, provided the rooms should answer her purpose, and left after giving her address, stating she would call on the morrow.

On the twenty-eighth, she called again. I gave her the same decided answer as she received the day before, and my reasons for it that the house was not suitably arranged to make it profitable in leasing rooms, there being but three that I had to spare that would be likely to be taken by persons in pursuit of rooms, and that the remainder would not enable me to meet my expenses, but if I could fill my rooms with boarders I thought it would answer my purpose better. The arrangements I had already made would enable me to do much better with the house than I anticipated at first, as I had succeeded in securing a competent friend to attend to calls and to my domestic department, while absent in the agency; and as I had been to the expense in making such arrangements, and was now fully prepared to fill the house with boarders, it was my preference so to do.

She said that she should like to look at the rooms, and go over the house if I had no objections, that she had formerly visited there, and was acquainted with Mrs. L. "Certainly, with pleasure," and I accompanied her through the premises. The three rooms on the second floor were just what she should like; that she had looked at several, but these were the best ones she had seen — and she wanted me to consider of it, and she would call again. I still did not wish to let the rooms, but the lady being to appearance very anxious for them, I consulted with some friends, and concluded to

set the price high enough to cover the risk of loss on rent, in case I should not succeed in getting persons who would pay enough to defray the necessary expenses for the remaining part of the house. I had not the slightest idea of her taking them at the price I named.

In fact I aimed to set it so high that she would abandon the idea of taking them at once.

She called at the time appointed — I named the price, and she made no objections to it, but said that she should like to have the sign moved upon one side of the house, — and if she would put up one on the other side, she did not see why it would not operate as well for the society as having it upon the front side. And asked if I thought the directors would have any objection to its being moved? I told her I thought they would, and that it would be of little or no use to see them in reference to it. She asked me if I had any objections to her seeing the directors. I replied, none at all. She then inquired where they were to be found, and I gave her their address. She wished me to give her the refusal of the rooms until Saturday, the 5th of October. I did so — though I had several applications for board while I was waiting for her decision. Instead of a call on the day she appointed, I received a note in the afternoon, as follows:

“October 5, 1850.

Mrs. Gassett:

Dear Madam, — I regret that I was prevented from calling upon you this morning as I had intended. I hope it has not caused you any inconvenience. I shall endeavor to call early on Monday or Tuesday morning, if nothing prevents.

Very truly yours,

T. C. C——.”

I gave her the refusal, as you see by the note, and from that supposed she still intended to take them. But instead of the lady Mr. Gregory called, and said that the directors would like to have me give the house up.

Upon this statement I remained silent for some time, unable to comprehend such a communication, and finally said to him, I did not understand nor comprehend the information. "Why, the directors thought if they could make a couple of hundred dollars more by reletting the house it was an object for them." By this remark, I see that they were taking the advantage of my rights and privileges in a secret and underhanded manner; and I added that his story sounded rather different now than it did when I took the house; that then it was if I would take it, if there were anything to be made out of it, I ought to be the one to receive it; but now everything being done, and an opportunity to relieve myself of the extra expenses I had taken upon myself for an accommodation to the society or officers, they wished now to claim the privilege of making the profits upon the house, if they could do it, without my perceiving their scheme.

"Why," says he, "you can board in the house and attend to the business for the society, and give your whole and undivided attention to the agency, and that would enable me to pay off the expenses I had incurred." He further stated, that if the lady I had granted a refusal of the rooms to, would pay the four hundred dollars to them, (this being the price that she was to pay me for the same,) and then naming another lady at Auburndale, previous to my taking the house he tried to get, could take the remaining part of the house at two hundred dollars; that I could board with her, and take a room in the upper story of the house.

I felt that these were bold — yes, very bold propositions, and inhuman, too, in the manner he presented them and the

mode he had proceeded in making the arrangements with the persons without speaking to me about it, and said that in the first-place he ought to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to me, or if they desired the house, for them to pay me for my services and relieve me of all my liabilities. In that case I should have no objections, provided he had come first and asked me how I should like to make such a change, before making any engagements with the ladies, and I told him so. He remarked, he did not want to say anything to me till he knew whether he could get them to take the house ; and if he could not, he would not say anything to me about it. I told him that I was not disposed to give up the premises, and should not think of it, and that from these selfish movements I should be obliged to believe what had been said to me of him ; that it had been said to me if I was acquainted with Samuel Gregory long enough I should find him out ; but the warning was too slightly heeded, I was sorry to say ; and I had no doubt there was ample cause for it ; though I received it, as I usually did such statements, knowing every one has enemies — some for one thing, some for another, and many without a good reason ; but this proposition I could not think of listening to. He said I might think better of it, and he would call to-morrow, and left.

It would be in vain to attempt to define my own opinion of this manœuvre of Gregory's.

On the evening of the next day he called, and I gave him my answer, that I had decided not to give the house up, and that it was of no use for me to spend further time in talking about it ; and that I had not spent so much time about anything as I had in listening to his thousand propositions, and that now I had done with them. He insisted upon my giving the house up, and that he had just returned from Auburn-dale where he had been to see Mrs. Whittlesey, and that

she would take it. I told him I had given my decision; and that I should not make further talk upon the subject, and left the room.

On Monday, the 14th, following, he called with several persons and took them over the house and showed them into every apartment, and inquired of the domestic who occupied this room and who that. By the liberty thus taken, I concluded that he intended to take possession without the least regard to what I had said to him, and the next morning I called upon Mr. Jewett to learn what all this manœuvring by Mr. Gregory meant. He said he did not know, and could not tell me anything about it. At this moment the person who called to take rooms of me came, and inquired for Mr. Gregory, who being called, met her at the front part of the store. Mr. Jewett inquired of me who she was; I told him she was one of the persons Gregory wanted to have me give up the house to. Jewett said he did not see what there was about her that Gregory should be so suddenly pleased with, and remarked that he should prefer my keeping the premises to her taking them. I told him that I could not account for Gregory's sudden change of conduct, unless I had offended him in forbidding his familiarity about the house; that I had been greatly tried with the liberty he had taken in going over the house at his pleasure, regardless of disturbing the occupants of the rooms; and even the girls had complained of his disagreeable presence in the kitchen so frequently that I told him several times he would greatly oblige me if he would tell the girl who he wished to see and she would deliver his message, without his interference.

His movements indicated that he alone knew what was transpiring in and about the establishment.

The lady was an entire stranger to its officers, and to him;

and yet he seemed determined to put the stranger in person, and stranger to the cause, in a house for the rent of which I alone stood responsible, both in word and my written obligation,—for the only reason (he had given) of having an opportunity to make the two hundred dollars, *for the Societies benefit*.

This was not the agreement upon my taking the house. I was to have it for two years, with the privilege of receiving all that could be made out of it, at their own stipulated proposal. I held no writing direct from them to me, to that effect, I did not require it—considering the officers of the institution men of veracity, or at least knowing their reputation, as a general thing, to be such. I did not, no I had never thought it possible—and doubt if any other person ever heard of the instance; of seven men rising against one person, who had done for them and their corporation, what not one of them would become responsible for, or subject himself to do, for the promotion of their cause. But on the contrary, if I had not been able to meet the expenses, I supposed they would readily advance all deficiencies, rather than suffer me to lose one cent, in a situation I had not sought, but took with reluctance, merely to accomodate them, because they could get no other person whom they were willing to have. I little thought of being engaged for these men as a mere tool, or slave, to do their bidding, take this or that, and then be required to give up a room prepared by and for myself, and occupy one selected by S. Gregory, for the purpose of putting in the premises those persons he saw fit to employ. This seemed however to be what they expected of me; after I had consented to assume all the liabilities, and subject myself to all the fatiguing duties, both in and out of doors, connected with the house and house-keeping—and with every bill (that I was not prepared to

settle) placed to my charge; (as I supposed, as I never gave any one authority to make a charge otherwise) then, to take advantage of an arrangement which was about to be made between me and another person, because it would enable them to make the profits on that, I still stood security for, and had paid in part, and the remainder I was liable to pay; as much as to say, every thing is now done requisite for a complete ascendancy. Ladies are interested, the charter obtained, house secured for our use two years, repaired and put in complete order.

Now we will get rid of her, by adroit management, without her discernment, as there is nothing left but what we ourselves can do.

CHAPTER VI.

On the 18th of October, I received an anonymous letter through Dr. L's. letter-box, which was placed in my hands while seated at the tea table, in the presence of six persons. I opened, read, and re-read it aloud—when each at the table perused and examined the communication. It was in the following terms.

“A word of advice can do no harm from a friend.

It is hoped that you will use every precaution in regard to many things; but people are making their remarks about you and Mr. Gregory, as you are in the house alone or most part of the time; letters have been written before to the President and teacher, hoping there would be different management in the house. I do not expect there is evil, but avoid the appearance of evil.

A friend to all concerned, and a
member of the Society.”

In the first place, no person with whom I was acquainted, or who was connected with the Society at this time, that was my friend, would have written to me such a false document. The writing is feigned, though there are traces of a natural hand through the whole of it.

If the writer had been my friend, would he or she not have called upon me personally, and given his or her advice candidly and openly?

If not a personal insult, would not the writer have been particular in using a decent piece of paper, and enclosed it in a decent envelope ?

But the paper and envelope were both of a very slovenly description.

“It is hoped you will use every precaution in regard to many things.”

If a friend, why did not he or she specify definitely, the things in question ?

“People are making their remarks, about you and Mr. Gregory, as you are in the house alone, or most part of the time.”

There was not an hour that I was alone with him in that house. When I went there, I took one woman with me ; on the second day, I obtained another ; and on the fifteenth of September, I solicited a friend of mine, to come and take charge of the calls made, in reference to the Society, and for board—while I was engaged in the agency. At this time, I had four boarders, and seven in the family ; and had the same the fortnight previous ; (and would have had the house quite full at this time, but for the intermeddling of Gregory,) but I declined seeing him, and had not, since the day following the proposition of making the two hundred dollars. That convinced me he was a very unsafe person to have any dealings with ; and that a man disposed to shuffle for gain so dishonorable, having nothing to risk himself, was not a proper person with whom to negotiate ; and all transactions connected with the Society, I resolved to have with some of the other officers ; therefore I did not see him at all, however much he was in the office.

No persons knew of his visiting the house except Dr. Rolfe, himself, and those persons seated at the tea table.

But in order to spread abroad scandal, and bring reproach

upon the individual aimed at, it was necessary to connect a man's name with her, and as none was known better adapted for that purpose than the gentleman who had largely figured in the office in Cornhill, and the one connected with the house, for six weeks previous to this time, and had made himself so familiar about the premises, as to become a nuisance in them, and been forbidden to transgress there any longer. This name was most suitable for the occasion, and by connecting her own name with it, many not acquainted with the parties, (would not think of one's connecting their own name and placing themselves in such an absurd position, which probably would not have been, but for the knowledge of one who figured in like manner,) might suppose there was some truth in the scandal.

"Letters have been written and sent to the President and teacher, hoping there would be different management in the house."

There was not and had not been, as I have already said, any one in and about the house, but those I have heretofore named. As to management, if bad, why was it not specified, that amendments might be made? But nothing of the kind is suggested. The letter intimates no evil was expected to exist.

That was well said; for no one ever knew me idle, save the time I was called from my duties to hear some proposition, or something which had been heard, or to inquire of me what I had heard or seen.

It speaks of avoiding the appearance of evil. My endeavors to avoid the appearances of evil that had become so annoying, and expelling the cause of them was what called forth this anonymous letter, under consideration, which would not have been written had not certain liberties have been forbidden.

I never had the leisure that some agents have, to be closeted two and three hours a day, regularly. I shall never forget a remark which was made on the reception of this precious epistle.

Why, I am sure the effected ignorance is not quite so much out of the way as might be supposed by some persons who are less acquainted with them. The garb which they have assumed appears to be a very suitable one for them. I think they might be termed a wise fool, as they certainly have made a wise choice, in selecting the *very best* way, in showing themselves up in their true character.

On Monday, Oct. 21, I called on Dr. Waters, and had some conversation with him upon the unfairness of Mr. Gregory's dealings, and that I could not account for his conduct unless it was because I had disapproved of his coming in, and going over and about the house at his option. He thought it might be so, but that was not the reason. I had some of the society's funds, and that they must move very cautiously or they should not get it, and did not want me to know their motives.

I told him such was a lame apology, and that it was not so, that it was the two hundred dollars, or else he had falsely committed himself to me. If it were as he had suggested, why did he not come at once and state the same to me. It would not do for him to make such a pretence, for it was not a justifiable one in this instance. For I could prove it to be the two hundred dollars by others who heard it more than once from his own lips.

The next day I received the following note from Mr. Jewett:—

Boston, Oct. 22nd, 1850.

Mrs. Gassett:—

This is to state that Mr. Sewall and myself, having unex-

pected engagements, were unable to call at 10 o'clock, as we intended. We shall endeavor to call at four o'clock this (Tuesday) afternoon.

Yours,

JOHN P. JEWETT.

Mr. Jewett came according to the above appointment, but Mr. Sewall did not. I said to him from what I had learned that day, I presumed I knew the object of his visit, and then went into a minute explanation about matters, and referred him to friends who had long been acquainted with me.

He expressed himself glad that he had called, and regretted that Mr. Sewall was unable to come with him, and further stated that he would be the last person to object to my occupying the house, and that he so had said to those of my friends he had conversed with on the subject.

Dr. Waters called the next day upon the President, and he made no objection, but intimated that he would as soon have me as any other person. I was satisfied therefore, that nobody but S. Gregory was working against my interest.

On the morning of the 25th of October, I took my memorandum book (which contained all my expenses connected with the society) and called upon Mr. Jewett, and desired him to take the same and examine it, that he might satisfy himself as it regarded the funds, for in that he would see just what the money had been used for. He declined taking it, said he did not want it, and that they had no business with it either.

I then gave him the details of the use of the money, and he appeared perfectly satisfied with my statements.

At this interview, I told him my agreements with a female friend in taking the house, provided the directors were willing to accept of her as a tenant, to occupy the premises on the first of November, 1850; that I had applied my whole

faculties so studiously for the past fourteen months, for that which I just began to understand was not what I bargained for, and having been disappointed in all my arrangements, my health had become so much impaired in consequence, that I had made the proposition to her and she had concluded to take it.

Mr. Jewett thought they would have no objection, if I wished to vacate the premises, he, for one, would not. I gave him references that they might satisfy themselves of her responsibility. He was the only director I had any conversation with on the subject.

On the third of November, S. Gregory called and told this lady that they had made inquiries and learnt that she was a responsible person, and supposed they were to look to her for the rent thereafter.

This was all the conversation the directors had with the person to whom I relinquished the establishment. Yet, they say that they took it from me, and insisted upon her occupying the same.

The first of November I gave up the house entirely to her and the officers accepted; she was to receive it on the same terms as I had it, from them at their own stipulated price, which terms have been stated in full in the preceding pages.

The school commenced the 6th of November, in the year 1850, on the premises, in a room Gregory selected. They had twenty pupils, the largest number that had ever attended. I was informed by Gregory, that they would have every suitable and proper facility in point of instruction; and in consequence, I encouraged many to attend that term. I would not have so done had I known the deficiency in the departments.

The pupils became so dissatisfied with the false representations that had been given them of the school in December,

that it became very near breaking up ; and, but for the obtaining of Dr. Cornell, it probably would have been closed. Dr. Rolfe was the only teacher. He informed the lady of the house that they should like the room for the school, a couple of hours in the afternoon the day before it commenced. They used it a few days and then wanted to change the time to the fore part of the day, and she consented for them to do so, provided they would vacate it in season for her to prepare the apartment for dinner. They wanted it only they said, from ten to twelve, A. M., at the longest.

After she consented to this arrangement, for a few days it was vacated at a proper time. When there were some determined not to leave the room till they pleased, and even when the lady requested them to retire from it to the office, they would persist in remaining there. Every day they improved the opportunity in passing up the front stairs, over the house, till the lady told Gregory she would not have such liberties taken about the premises, and that there must be a stop put to them at once. Her remonstrances were unheeded, she spoke to Gregory again to no purpose. She then told him if he did not prevent such conduct that she should notify the directors of it. Some of these women would go all over the house, opening the door into apartments, and inquiring of the domestic who occupied this room, and who that. Finally, the lady went to Mr. Jewett, and he said he had told the officers, that if they were the ones to occupy the house they knew they would not suffer such annoyances, and that he should think their common sense would teach them among so many women as were there, and of a certain class too, that there would be some disposed to make trouble. But they did not regard what he had said about it, and he should say nothing further, but let them act their pleasure.

On the fourth of December, Messrs. Jewett, Gilbert, Sears and Gregory, at 4, P. M., called to see the superintendent, and said there had been a complaint made by the scholars that they were treated as a nuisance about the premises, and that they wanted to know the facts in the case.

The lady told them she was not aware of treating the pupils otherwise than well; that unless they took special pains to place themselves in and about her apartments she should never see them; therefore, if they had been ill-treated she was not aware of it. She then reported to the four gentlemen the conversation she had with Mr. Gregory, before detailed.

All that she had ever said, was that she could, and should not have her halls, stairs and house, made so common, that she had told Mr. Gregory she could not have it, and if he did not put a stop to it she should, that when she took the house she was not informed that the whole house was to be used as a school room. If she had depended upon the servant having the care of that part of the house it might be different, but she did not; she always took the whole care of the front stairs and halls herself, and she did not allow her own family occupying the halls, and she should not consent to the pupils going over her front stairs, and being seated in the halls.

The Society's rooms, she further said, were every morning prepared and made ready at nine o'clock, and there was no occasion for persons to go in the hall to sit there, unless it were to act as spies, and encroach upon the ladies' rights, for it being cold weather, and there being no fire in the halls, they would be obliged to wear their outside garments. Yet they would take their books, and leave the school room in lecture hours, seemingly for no other purpose than to irritate the proprietress, because she forbade such conduct. She

was accused of treating them as a nuisance ; the president having been in the office some time, came out and wanted to see her ; she met him and he deliberately, in the presence of her mother and myself gave her the lie, for after she had told him she was innocent, for him to still insist it was otherwise, he in substance, charged her with a plain falsehood.

CHAPTER VII.

How different was the management of the school and pupils and the conduct of S. Gregory at this period from what it was at the time I gave the note. Then Dr. Rolfe and wife were not suitable persons to manage because the women would make themselves too free and common about the premises, and the object was to get one accustomed to city life, who was reserved, and not acquainted with them, in order to keep them in their place.

And now such a person was obtained ; and yet Gregory was for making them do or suffering them to do the very acts objected to, and was apparently angry because he and they were not permitted to throw the whole house into a school-room and have all things in common. When an effort was made to get the gentleman and wife, then the pupils should not disturb the inmates by going into other parts of the house. He said they would have no more right to do so than to travel through Dr. Keep's premises on the corner ; and every accommodation was offered them if they would accept. But the present proprietress being a widow, and having no protector to forbid such rude behavior, she was obliged to submit to and suffer it while she remained in the establishment.

I will now make an attempt to describe the treatment she received from two pupils and some of its officers.

On the 6th of December, the second after the day the officers called, there was a petition drawn up and presented to the scholars by a couple of lady-boarders, to obtain if

possible the names of the pupils of the institution. They went into the school-room at recess time in the forenoon, and one of them read it, and then asked all present that had been treated as a nuisance to annex their names to it. After the reading two of the women left the room, looking round in a laughing, sneering and significant manner; and did not return until the ladies who brought in the document had retired.

Not one who remained in the school-room offered an objection, but appeared perfectly satisfied with their treatment, and surprised to learn that there was any trouble. Their remarks were to this effect: "We came here to attend the school and hear lectures. We did not come to visit the apartments in the premises. We are sure we should not know the lady of the house if we should see her. If we have trespassed upon the lady's rights it was because we had been informed that we had the privilege to go over the house by one of those women who left the room. But we are very sorry, and we do not blame the proprietress at all opposing us—for she could not like it, and we think she must be possessed of considerable patience to do what she has done, and was obliged to do—to make us as comfortable as we have been without their making an extra effort to make themselves more troublesome. We found that the officers' school consisted of but *two* out of the twenty persons, and they were the two who made themselves so obnoxious about the premises. They were common, indeed; so much so that up to a recent date I have heard that one of them was not in the slightest degree respected by any of the other pupils. After the petition had been presented there was no one seen about the house except the two who left the room. They commenced their manœuvres the day after the directors called, assuming new and enlarged immunities. It would

be impossible to describe their conduct in language. To realize it fully one must have seen their operations.

At this time the proprietress would have left the house — for she had become convinced that decent people were not to be respected by the majority of the officers of the society. She made an effort to get a house; but being unsuccessful, finally concluded to remain till spring.

On the 11th of December, Mr. Sewall, one of the directors and attorney for the institution, sent me the following note :

“BOSTON, Dec. 11, 1850.

Madam :

You having failed to pay the rent of the house which you hire of the Female Medical Society, situated in Boston, at the corner of Carver and Boylston streets, are hereby notified to quit and deliver up possession of the same to said society, at the expiration of fourteen days from this date.

S. E. SEWALL,

Att’y of said Society.

To Mrs. Helen M. Gassett.”

This note was written and directed to me, although they had accepted and acknowledged another person to be responsible to them for the rent.

And she was ready to pay it at any moment whenever they would prevent her being further troubled by the two persons in question. But no promise was made to her to this effect till the very last part of December, though Messrs. Gilbert, Sewall, Jewett and Gregory were appealed to ; but not until I went to Mr. King, one of the directors whom I had never before seen. He called on her on the 28th of that month, and said that if she would pay the rent he would assure her she should have no further trouble with the

pupils. She told him that she had experienced so much perplexity that to know what her rights and privileges were to be, and to make sure of them without further molestation, she would require a written specification of the directors, and that she did not feel disposed to pay the rent, until they gave her such a document.

Mr. King said that he would advise her as a sister to pay the rent, and repeated what has before been stated.

From Mr. King's assured word, (though she feared it might not prove to be true,) on the 1st day of January she paid the rent. No sooner had they received it, than one of the women who continued to frequent the front hall daily, taking her luncheon and scatter the crumbs over the carpet, eager to transgress against the rules of the house, as much as to say, I can be sustained in it, and the tenant may *help herself if she can*. Such is but one of the many annoyances that caused her to *withhold the rent*.

But immediately after it was settled, this person, the one most bold and disagreeable of all others, a Mrs. Golding, began by going into the office in the morning as soon as the fire was built and the room cleaned, to get her breakfast—although she boarded elsewhere. If she wanted anything from the closet where the family were at breakfast, she would get it, without an apology, assuming haughty and offensive airs.

One morning before a fire was made in the office, she went into the breakfast room with a saucepan to put upon the stove, and passing the table at which the family were seated, would have smutted a lady's cap, but for the wearer seeing and preventing the trespass.

Mrs. Golding must have had great encouragement from somebody, to have encroached upon the rights of others in such an undaunted manner. The boarders advised the in-

jured party to complain to the directors. She declined doing so, and said they had violated their promises, which amount to nothing. I have only added to my troubles. It is better not to see them again, if I wish to enjoy any peace. But one thing however prevents my giving up the house at once.

Mrs. Golding one evening went into the room while one of the boarders were at tea — she placed herself exactly in front of her — fastened her eyes upon her in a demon-like manner, and stood till she got tired probably, and when she found she was noticed only with silent contempt, went out. She returned, with a tigress-like air, again fixed her brutal and revengeful eyes upon the individual till she disappeared from her presence.

This lady had no acquaintance with Mrs. Golding, and never spoke with her more than three times, the conversation at these interviews being in substance as follows: — She was introduced to the lady by S. Gregory. She asked her if she did not want to see Mr. Gregory's wife dreadfully when she first knew him. The answer was that no query came in her mind to know, nor did she know whether or not he was then married. Mrs. Golding did, and she never wanted to see any body so much in her life as his wife; and it is not impossible but what she may be able to see her by looking into a mirror. The other times, she called at the office door, and wanted to see Mr. Gregory, and was told he was not in. Is there anything in the above interview to warrant one such unchaste treatment?

In speaking the other day to a lady who happened to be present, and witnessed the above scene, she said it was a wonder she suffered such abusive treatment to pass unnoticed. She looked back with the utmost abhorrence on the proceedings of Mrs. G., and all others, her abettors that conducted

and managed the affairs of the premises, and why it was that they had not long since been exposed she could not tell, but justice to the public required they should be.

Thus the lady of the house was annoyed till the first of February by Mrs. Golding, when the officers approved her course, by taking a room from the tenant and placing the Mrs. G., therein, and exacting from her the same rent. They also undertook to oblige the tenant to pay the water tax at this time, against the terms of their own contract.

Have not her words proved true, that the officers were of the same character of the women in question. And now what was or could be expected by the occupant but enlarged liberty. She, at the officer's command, and through their unlawful dealings with the lady of the house, became the occupant of this room, situated at the other end of the lower hall, where to her, it proved most convenient for the purposes she seemed placed there to accomplish.

The school being closed, and the taxable care of the room being ended, but for this disagreeable nuisance some quiet pleasure might have been experienced that would have served to mitigate the sufferings of the minds and feelings in days of yore. But this was not to be realized. Mrs. Golding improved the apartment, the entrance to which, when taken, was to be from Carver street, but she commenced operations immediately upon coming in from Boylston street, and when the front door bell rang, with a hurried step assumed all responsibility, taking upon herself the authority of a landlady, in waiting and attending upon the society of the tenant. When on complaint, such proceedings were stopped, if any one entered, her face peeped out of the room into the hall, and remained stationary, with a pert and inquisitive expression, till the visitors were waited upon. Her countenance became at last the representative of the door and the room of her habitation.

When the landlady was out, or at her meals, she would improve that opportunity, to impose upon the domestics, by calling them to bring up her fuel and empty her offal. A sister of the Superintendent accidentally overheard her giving orders to a domestic below stairs. The orders were countermanded, and all future interpositions prohibited.

On the first of March, the lady had become so much disgusted with every thing connected with the society, that she told Mr. Gregory she should occupy the premises no longer than through the month, if it were possible to obtain a house elsewhere, for the person, Mrs. Golding's conduct had become perfectly disgusting, and every article in the contract had been broken on their part.

Gregory's reply was, that they had no objections, as they had now *ample means to occupy the whole house*.

The next week after the lady left the house, their agent called upon her friend, soliciting funds to enable the society to meet the monthly demand rent.

Was not this a contemptible project of the directors to use such an artifice to rid themselves of a tenant, because they had no commendable excuse to expel her from the premises.

Because her family were respectable and claimed esteem, because neither she nor they would do any thing mean, the government or their agents resorted to indirect methods to impair her credit. Such a course was in keeping, with the character of those who controlled the society.

Again, look at the expression, "*ample means to occupy the house.*" They had got rid of their tenant, and the molesting agents were occupying the place; and they had obtained funds to liquidate their rent from the public, rather than have a respectable family in the premises, that paid a respectable share of it. *Ample means!* if that was a true statement, why was this agent obtaining money under pre-

tence for rent of the house of the society, or for Mr. Gregory and Mrs. Golding. As I cannot find that there are any persons at the present day who constitutes the society but them.

After the former tenant quit the premises some of her friends called, believing her family still resided there.

Mrs. Golding, on learning the object of their visit to see the former inmates, calumniated some portion of her family in a heinous manner.

A lady called one day, and inquired for the family or some one of it members. She was met by Mrs. Golding, who began to represent them in a reproachful manner. The lady told her it would not be in her power to injure their characters in the least, for they were well known, and esteemed in the city. She comprehended Mrs. Golding's drift at once, and would not countenance the defamation by stopping to hear a sentence of it from slanderer's lips.

After Mr. Gregory and Mrs. Golding took the house, there was some crockery sent there for the former occupant, it was received by them; the owner being informed of the fact it was sent for, but they would not deliver it, neither have they paid for it, or had not the last I heard anything about the matter.

CHAPTER VIII.

I return now to the 1st of December. In the early part of the month I sought a settlement with the society by making up my account, getting Dr. Waters to present it to Mr. Gilbert, the president, obtain the note given as security for the house, and give up the books of agency. Dr. Waters called on Mr. Gilbert, presented the bill, and made known my proposition to him; but Mr. Gilbert's reply was, "we shall do no such thing."

On the 11th of the month I received a note from Mr. Sewall, one of the directors, (a copy of the same I have given in the preceding pages,) for me to quit and deliver up the house.

At this time I was not occupying it, and had not been for more than six weeks. They had accepted and acknowledged another person as tenant.

Was this ignorance, or was it intended as a personal insult? I had sought but a few days before a settlement; it was denied me. They held my note, the only security that had been given to secure the house. Again, I was only a boarder in the house for a short period, till I could effect a withdrawal, and had bound myself in no wise for the rent for the tenant. Neither did she require any such thing of any one. But the letter was directed to me, which shows the spirit that animated them towards me, to be that of *ill will*. The person who occupied the office said, "If I had the money I would put every one of them out on the side-walk."

But the fact was, these persons who desired to monopolize, had no means to effect their object. They were even beggars. They who were to be put out on the side-walk were not paupers, yet they were treated far worse, even as common vagabonds. These persons became my enemies from the time that I would not give up the house for them to make the two hundred dollars, and allow them to select my room, leaving me under the expenses I had fairly been crowded into ; and when the chance offered, whereby I expected to relieve myself of them, because I would not come under deficient authority, turn upon me, and in the most inhuman manner menace me and spread their calumnies against me as often as the means are afforded them, asserting that they can say just what they please about me, and I will not dare to attempt to defend myself. And when the author of such abuse have been inquired for, we have been sneeringly told to go to the house where you can get all the information you want without reserve. Some persons informed them that there were too parts to this story, and that they happened to be acquainted with each side, and if they had been thus informed it was false.

Well, was the answer, they did not believe Mr. Gregory would lie, for he belonged to Park street Church ! Save the mark ! So you see from the above how readily scandal will be cherished when uttered by a man of Park street Church, and how much sooner the public mind will receive and sanction falsehood than simple truth.

After hearing the above, the confidence so decidedly expressed of our being wrong, how much weight could a person like myself, with no great men's names affixed to her pages as an approval of her course, have upon a society so laudably sustained, both in public and private, as this claimed to be ! Not much, unless we had clearly presented the truth about it to the community.

Let it be remembered too that so many persons of commanding influence, who were operating in its behalf would not have boldly denounced a single individual, unless they felt they had injured her and feared the result of her representations to that effect upon them in the public.

I waited till the last of this month in expectation of a settlement; though the president had declined acknowledging my account. I felt anxious to get it rectified, and solicited Dr. Waters to propose to Mr. Gilbert an adjustment, by giving it to referees. This proposition was not accepted.

Finally, my agent's adviser had an interview with some of the directors, and endeavored to convince them of their injustice, in not coming to an agreement with me, but it was regarded of no consequence.

At these interviews he learnt that the Treasury was deficient in funds, therefore, a suit instituted against the society would avail nothing, as it would only incur expense without remuneration.

Feeling my liabilities to be more than I could meet, I was willing to relinquish an agency, which has been one of the richest that had been operating in the public of its kind, and sacrifice my time, strength, rights, privileges and profits, also, if I could only settle in full with them, and I felt the least they could do was to grant my request.

But when it was ascertained they would not do so, I took the books of Dr. Waters in January, and made an effort to act as their agent, and went out some four or five times in that month. Had I learnt the facts before I commenced, that I did on the twenty-eighth, I most assuredly never would have worked for them again.

For on this day, in the afternoon, being seated in the adjoining room to the office with a friend, a conversation ensued as follows:—"I cannot afford to pay such a rent

for this office, and shall not, unless I can have a chamber that can be locked up. Answer, but you must not think of giving it up now, for we cannot do without you? "Well, if I could have a room, and have a sofa-bedstead in it, which Miss Barney could occupy, and have the care of it, I would stay!" Answer; "you don't need to be particular in lecturing to the class, for they are nothing but common women — it is not as though they were highly educated, and were wealthy individuals." I was amazed at these suggestions. Although I had seen and heard much, I did not suppose that the society was not as much interested for the poor as for the rich orders, but it seemed that because they were ignorant there was no necessity for taking that pains with them that there would have been had they been more enlightened. Why, the reason of my being so interested in the cause, and so zealous and arduous in my efforts to sustain it, was that I thought the society was established to prepare the poor and ignorant for professional life. I would not have become so connected with this people had I suspected their purpose that appeared to be disclosed in this conversation. Such confirms the fact that they have but one idea indeed. The letter previously inserted was produced and commented upon, and reference then made to their eager efforts to make the two hundred dollars. And now since they had received the money, the tuition fee, they were operating to deprive the pupils of those rights and privileges they had guaranteed to them, because they were of the common class of women. And to effect this object they offered to retain a teacher who was not a proper person to occupy the house, and who they would employ no longer than another person could be obtained to take his place. If such be true, I might say, "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned."

I will present an instance or two as examples of the artifice practised, to draw individuals into this school, and also the character of the seminary, by some of its pupils.

Certain persons have been induced to become students by the encouragement given them, that by paying twenty-five dollars and staying for the term of three months, they would be amply qualified as midwives. Having done so, certificates to that effect have been withheld from them.

Some say they had not received five dollars worth of instruction during the time, and one asserted that she was no wiser by attending. Many appear as though it was actually a disgrace to have their patients know that they have been pupils of the institution, and when one inquires of some of them for the location of the society and its condition, they do not know of any Female Medical College in Boston, they never saw any such, unless Samuel Gregory and Anna Golding could be denominated the society. They knew it had been represented in the papers as existing, by the latter person; but they had not the slightest respect for it. The terms they employed to describe the reputation of the College were too strong for me to repeat in this narration.

A lady asked another who had been to a medical school, Did you graduate in Boston. She replied, "I did not." Have you attended the one in the City? "Only one term." "Why did you not graduate in Boston?" Because I would not receive a certificate from that school; I would not regard a graduate from it; a diploma from it would be of no more value than a piece of blank paper. She was shown one that had been issued from the institution, and she said it was fit only to be committed to the flames.

A lady from a neighboring state heard of this College, and thought she should like to attend, having been considerable interested in medical works, for merely her own information,

not to qualify herself to practise. She made inquiry by letter of Mr. Gregory of the conditions and facilities of learning.

She received such a favorable communication from him in reply that she concluded to attend, and accordingly came at the time of the commencement of the school. She also sought and received information of him relative to two boarding places, and was to have her choice from the two. But on reaching, and being made acquainted with the selected habitation, she began to feel that all was not gold that glittered. Mr. Gregory came to wait upon her to the school room. She went, but to her great surprise found no library nor apparatus there. Nor was there a teacher actually engaged, but her own services in that capacity were by them solicited.

But what exhibited in the clearest light the deception which had been practised upon her was, to learn that she had corresponded with an unmarried man, who was no physician, she being a stranger.

I need not attempt to convince the reader that a lady, a stranger, in a strange city, was placed in an embarrassing condition at this discovery, nor describe her mortified feelings at the fraud, and her sudden departure immediately after. She realized all these things in quick succession. The question hence occurs, ought not such gross imposition be published to the world?

It is manifest she was not obliged to exhaust her strength in watching many nights in the week, or in sewing, to pay the necessary expenses to enable her to attend the school, in cold and bleak, wintry weather. Many have done so, and denied themselves the common comforts of life, just because encouragement had been given them that one quarter would qualify them to be midwives. Gregory speaks of the many that have been taught, and entered upon their duties, and of their success. But those who have

received diplomas therefor, he is not so particular to mention. But six graduates have had conferred on them the distinguished honor of a degree from the far famed institution. Can therefore, the candid and impartial reader of these few facts out of the many that may be detailed touching the manner the same has been conducted, believe that it deserves the support of the community.

CHAPTER VIII.

Since the twenty-eighth of January, fifty-one, I have represented myself as having no interest whatever in the society, and have always done openly and without reserve, whenever necessary, as I considered it a duty to be performed.

On the third of February, I left the city for a limited period, and on the twenty-third of the same month I received the following letter from Mr. Gregory: —

BOSTON, Feb. 22, 1851.

Mrs. Gassett:

Having been appointed by the president and directors of the Female Medical Education Society, to settle the society's account with you; we hereby request you to call or authorise some one else to call, and attend to the matter, and return the subscription books received from the secretary, without delay.

Respectfully yours, &c.

SAMUEL GREGORY,

DEXTER S. KING,

17 Cornhill.

On the fourth of March, I returned, and placed the books into the hands of Dr. Waters, with the expectation, after receiving such a concise address of a speedy settlement.

Dr. Waters called upon the gentlemen, proposed a settle-

ment, said that he was ready, and that I desired it. For some cause best known to themselves they did not choose to settle at this time ; but continued their demands upon Dr. Waters for the books till the last of May. Dr. Waters informed them that he had no authority to give them up until they returned the note and settled my account.

On the twenty-fifth of March, at the suggestion and approval of several of my friends, they lending me their influence, I drew up a petition in my own behalf, to obtain through the generosity of others, that which was due from but denied me by the society. All I obtained in this manner was openly asked and kindly given.

I adopted this course because I had already drawn too heavily upon my own resources to justify me in exhausting them any further, while these persons continued to receive their own subsistence from those means belonging to me and were not willing to release me from my liabilities.

The first of January, 1851, I called upon a firm I had bought some articles of, to inform them that I had not acted as agent since the purchase, and therefore, was not prepared to pay them according to my agreement, but if they would wait upon me till the fourteenth of May it would accommodate me. They made no objection, provided they could be sure of the money then. At the time mentioned I called and settled my account. When I purchased the articles I told them that I was engaged in an agency for the society, that I had taken the house as an accommodation, and that I was not prepared in the least for such an arrangement, &c. If they thought favorably of the cause, and were disposed to promote its progress, that it would be acceptable. They said that they would put the articles ten dollars less for that purpose, and I might credit the same to the society. I did so, till I learnt the falsity of it. I then erased the entry.

On settling my account I paid the whole amount, and they desired to know my reasons for so doing. I told them I had no farther sympathy for the institution, but that they might contribute the same if they pleased. They wished to know my objections to it. I told them I had but one objection, in relating the wrongs and ill-usages to which I had been subjected, when a person had time to listen to them, and that it was a long series of consequences of an aggravating nature, particularly to myself.

One of the firm then told me that the present agent came to him for a donation, and he informed her he had contributed through me. Whereupon she assailed me in very gross terms.

At this time Dr. Waters had the books of subscriptions ready for settlement, so that I had not rendered my books of account, and yet they were actively exciting the minds of all who were disposed to hear them against me, in language that was most gratifying to themselves.

As he had heard their side of the story, he wanted to hear mine, and I related it to him in substance as I have detailed it here, giving him a full description of my grievances. When I had finished, he said that he would give me the ten dollars if I would accept of it; I thanked him, but declined taking it, as I had no desire to receive that which was contributed for the society's use. He told a friend of mine that he would give me the ten dollars if I would receive them, and from what I have said, he was convinced that I had been wronged. He was satisfied in his own mind of the matter.

I now have reason to feel thankful I did not take the money, for I have been informed that the firm would not have let me had the articles had they known that they were not for the society.

Here is a specimen of the manner this company was played

upon by the society, showing how easily the human mind is biased by your enemies. There was a portion of the articles I wanted which the merchant had not, but were daily expecting from abroad. They were not received till after I and the lady I got to take the house, had both left it. The goods arrived, and the firm sent them there. On calling at the store in April, or some time in May for them, they informed me of the fact ; but being told that we had quit the premises they promised to send and get them back.

They did so without success, and were obliged to take others to replace the deficiency, and replenish their stock. It hence appears that one of the members of the firm, not he to whom I paid the money, was more willing to accommodate a corporation than myself, though he might lose by it, from the fact that the individual's security is doubted, though that individual is worth more than the whole corporation, not in money perhaps, but that which is of more value, integrity and truth. Everything at that time was at my risk ; but the inmates of the establishment while aspersing my character, did not divulge to others that important fact. This gentleman was the only one I knew among the large assembled number of defendant's witnesses ; but what he can have to say in court that will be to his own interest and of advantage to the society, I am curious to know. I have thought his testimony might be in reference to his making out the bill in their name ; but it was not till I had received the interrogatories from defendant, three and a half years after purchasing the articles that I knew or noticed that the goods had been charged to the society. If I had given authority to any one to make a charge to the society, or in its name, or had noticed they were placed to its debit, those expenses connected with the house, they came in possession of, for which they never allowed nor paid anything, I should not

have paid for them myself. And I know of no reason why the charge was made to them, unless it was because the merchant saw the *great sign stretched from end to end* of the house, that Gregory got put up, long before I was in it. He used to say that it would do a great deal towards advertising the establishment, and I certainly think it did, in point of giving my bills a heading, for persons seeing such a conspicuous sign would think naturally enough that the entire building was occupied wholly by persons connected with the school. And such was the general impression, and was understood to be from persons connected with the house after I and the lady I got to take it had quit the premises.

The next day after I payed the bill I was informed that Gregory called in immediately after I left the store, and inquired if I had done so. He was answered in the affirmative. The store keeper said he appeared as though he had something to say, or would like to have some conversation, but he told him he was busily engaged, and then he went away. Where do you suppose Gregory was that he should have seen you, or knew you had been here unless he had been watching you? I was asked by them. I had no doubt I replied, he had been watching me, indeed I was convinced of it that he did not probably do much of any thing else, but (as he says) stand behind the door to silence all the true statements that are given against his principles and practices. However, if he were engaged in such a poor business as that, it was far from being creditable to himself, though I had not the slightest objections to it. I was not engaged in any kind of business dishonorable to me or to any other person, and if he could afford the time and be paid for it, I did not know but what it might prove quite as entertaining, and doubtless far more exciting to his spiritual temperament than any office he had the honor of hold-

ing. For if he learnt my communications as given he heard the truth, and that only, which carried with it its own weight. I never had but one story to tell about that society, and that story had always been the same I am telling you now, and I would not shrink from meeting all persons to whom I have said anything, and see if they would not vary the statements. (Though they had a way of telling a story as best suited themselves on the occasion without regard to truth, I had found since my connection with that society.) But there could be only one story told of them.

It appears that Mr. Gregory went directly to Dr. Waters' office, and told him that he should rather I would not pay the money back. Why he did so, and what his reasons were. The Doctor said he did not know. He gave none. (This was while the Doctor had the books, that whenever they felt disposed to settle they were ready for them, and they knew it.) I told Dr. W., that he saw probably what his object was, that he might not get quite as many dollars from the individuals as he would be likely to, provided the money had not been returned by an agent, for no person could hear the facts stated without feeling that there must be something wrong in the management of matters, unless he or she had a heart of adamant, colder than impenetrable ice. And if they had given their money for an object it should go to the establishment, even if they were false to the cause for which it was given, and it was lending aid to that which disgraced the public annals daily. In short it shall go to the society, because I gave it to them, for what I have done I will not nullify, though I may be greatly in the wrong.

One person remarked I had my doubts about that institution, and if such be the facts, I am glad you have not given my name in.

Another said, I am very glad indeed you have withheld my

name. I thought from your representations of the society the cause was a good one, but if it be as you now state it, I do not want my name in the least connected with it.

A third exclaimed, (to whom I gave back her money,) Who ever before heard of money's being returned when once contributed to a society? This I think, is the first instance, for when once given it is retained, whether it ever is used for the purpose claimed. The donor remains in ignorance of the application of his or her gift.

The day after settling my bill Gregory called upon Dr. Waters, and told him that if I did not discontinue my solicitations they would advertise me in the papers. I told Dr. Waters they might do so, if they dared, but it would be at their own peril; that I had nothing to do with the society, and he knew it, for he had sanctioned the method I had adopted, and annexed his name with his own hand, of the approval.

On the 19th, Gregory called upon Dr. W. again, and told him that he had heard I had been at Salem obtaining money in the society's name. The doctor said he did not think I would do such a thing. But Gregory replied he had abundant proof of it. I asked Dr. Waters why he did not tell him what I had said — that I would sacrifice every thing, even my life, before I would ask for one dollar in its name, or for its support, and I repeat the declaration, that death to me would be preferable.

At this time Dr. W. recommended my taking the books, and examine them carefully to see that they were correct. I told him that there was no necessity for it. He advised me to do so, for he thought from Gregory's movements he intended to settle; but he said subsequently, that he did it so that he could tell him that I had got them, as he was coming in that day in the afternoon, and that if he knew that I

was possessed of the books, it would induce him to close matters more speedily. He did call, and was informed of the fact; but I returned them next morning before nine, to the doctor, just as I took them from him, not knowing the doctor's drift till sometime afterwards.

In these books I had before erased all names that were recorded to be used as an influence upon the minds of others, as an inducement for them to contribute; and also all the names of those persons who had given to other agents, according to the request of Gregory, who desired that nothing should be said about it, as it would be an injury to the cause.

When he found that I was out — and out for myself, though he pretends for the society, he seems to have changed his mind about letting the public know it. He and the other agent, it appears, could not then expand their travels far and wide enough, but were obliged to resort to pamphlets and newspapers for their purposes.

It would not now do the cause any harm since they had found an oak under which to screen themselves from the odium that was settling upon them for their base conduct.

On the 26th, Mr. Gregory called upon Dr. Waters to ascertain how I would settle, and the doctor informed me of it.

I told Waters that when they would give up the note and adjust the account, they could have the books.

In my account I did not charge my services, though it may appear that I did from the manner it was made out. My own plan in making out the bill would have shown what my expenses were; and it has escaped my memory entirely how it was drawn. I took no copy of it when I sent it in, supposing that it would be settled immediately. I did not imagine at the time I should have to wait five or six years for an adjustment. I have received nothing for my time over

one year and a half, nor for my wearing apparel, which I was obliged to have decent to appear in public; not, it is true, of silk or satin, while engaged in their behalf. All was sacrificed. Besides, to secure for the society a proper habitation, I gave my note for four hundred dollars. Had they asked of any state in New England a place for that purpose, it would not have been granted. And before they occupied the premises, no one knew anything of the institution, its locality or condition. Such are proofs of my sympathy for the cause, while I represented and acted for it.

On the 27th, Gregory called again on Dr. Waters, and proposed leaving all matters out between us to referees, and so informed me.

I told him that I had asked nothing unreasonable in my settlement; and although I had been assured that if I would refer it, I should obtain even more than I claimed in my note. I declined the offer, because I had already over-taxed my friends about this settlement the past winter, and now at this late date, I refuse accepting the proposition.

On the 29th, Gregory called and brought the note, but did not settle the bill. Dr. Waters said he entirely forgot it.

I considered this no kind of a settlement, and told him so. However, if these gentlemen thought otherwise, and such was a correct mode of doing business, they would suffer the consequence which would inevitably follow; for if they did not pay the bill I should seek to obtain the money from the public, considering it my right and duty so to do, if my health and patience would enable me to proceed.

And if Dr. Waters had not been so long perplexed, I would never consent to such a settlement. But I felt that his generosity and patience had been already over-taxed by myself and the officers, and therefore concluded to let the society have their own way in the matter, believing it would in time be for the best.

Mr. Gregory said that each director had become responsible for fifty-seven dollars and fourteen cents. This fact was ludicrously amusing to many, and is to the present time; for it exposes the want of interest in these office-holders; the encouragement given by their remaining in office without their aid in securing the house or subjecting themselves to liabilities, till a feeling of revenge or pleasure was excited within their hearts by the influence of Samuel Gregory, and communicated by his aid, that of Anna Golding, to the papers and the public, till village, town, city and state had become acquainted with the sad tale of the *Female Medical College's* grievances.

BOSTON, May 21, 1851.

We the undersigned, agree each to be responsible to the amount of one seventh of four hundred dollars, \$57,14, as security for the payment of rent by the Female Medical Education Society, for Dr. Winslow Lewis's house, 75 Boylston street, under the Society, running to August first, A. D. fifty two, in consideration of Dr. Lewis's relinquishing a similar obligation for four hundred dollars, given by Mrs. Helen M. Gassett, July 15th, 1850.

Signed,

SAMUEL GREGORY,

JOHN P. JEWETT,

S. E. SEWALL,

WILLARD SEARS,

TIMOTHY GILBERT,

S. G. SHIPLEY,

D. S. KING.

What will be thought of this? Was it not a great effort on their part for the association? But behold what follows.

CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC. — The Directors of the Female Medical Education Society, hereby caution all persons against paying money to a Mrs. Gassett, as she has been discharged several months since, and has no authority to collect for said Society.

TIMOTHY GILBERT, President.

Boston, May 29, 1851.

This notice was inserted in most of our daily papers, four years since.

Now I respectfully ask, whether my readers have discovered any evidence of my discharge from the Society, in the preceding pages. They contain all the facts of my connection with it up to the above date, and yet the document is signed by its president, with no conscientious scruple, though it is gross falsehood. The signer is deacon of a Baptist church, ordained in office as a disciple of Christ, a man recognizing the great movements of the age; He is one of the fathers of the abolition, and acts as manager and advisor of the moral reform societies. He also fills various other situations of responsibility, not necessary to be here enumerated.

Now I demand, has a colored brother stronger claims upon his charity, than one of his own color and kind? Ought he to be willing to subject one of his own degree and complexion to become degraded and despised, by signing his name to a public document containing a scandalous libel? while on the other hand he extends his sympathy to that fallen class, for whom there is little hope for reclamation, through not even all the aid he may give [them! Fallen creatures indeed! but not worse than his publication would make me! For as I am represented, I should deserve no respect, nor ought I to claim any charity from the world. But if no greater than a hireling, for I claimed nothing

higher than that, while engaged in establishing said Society, was I not entitled to a decent share of respect and right, even if I aspired to be nothing more under a republican government?

Why was this deacon and president so repulsive when I called upon him to reason with, and show him the erroneous and unjustifiable character of Gregory's management? He turned from me with a contemptuous air, and intimated that what I had said were but exaggerations, scarcely listening to hear the end of one sentence. Did he think there could be no deception in Mr. Gregory, if there was in me? Would it not have been well for him to have accompanied me to the house unawed by Gregory, and made such inquiries as might have developed its secret imperfections?

If I were as heinous as they represent, why did they want me to remain in the agency, board in the house and perform the duties of the society, stating that they could not do without my services? Why further were they so reluctant to surrender my obligation willing and readily granted for their good, without my inquiring into the characters of those who wished to receive the benefit of that paper given by a woman, which secured to them an honorable establishment to represent themselves from?

How came in short, this great leader of reforms to sign his name to a falsehood? Because he was informed by agents that it must be done to protect the Society. No reference in the paper to themselves, but the Society. The advertisement does not hint it is to prevent cautious persons from exposure, nor those that have little respect for truth.

It is with difficulty that I am restrained from giving some statements, if I have not already, that would make my prosecutors quake with chagrin. Such facts unrepresented may have been the cause of my suit having turned upon a point

of law, and their haste in cautioning the public against me. They had seen enough to know me as a matter of fact person ; that a lie could not come from my lips ; and if I told anything it would be the truth, about their management.

They could not flatter themselves, I was like them gossipers bearing false witness against others, or that they could make me think, they being so round in number. It was even so, because they were willing thus to testify to the world.

Mr. Gregory pretended to say I was discharged by his leaving a pamphlet at the house, which contained a paragraph headed "AGENTS." As in such societies, the public are liable to be imposed upon by self-constructed agents, it is herein stated, that no one is authorized as an agent, who cannot show a written certificate signed by the President and Secretary. In a letter previously given, any person disposed to become an agent, could with impunity. I had no certificate ; and he knew I was not out in the society's name, because he had been repeatedly told so. He also knew, at the time he called for information upon the firm, I was not, or he would not have said to Dr. Waters, he would rather I would keep the money than return it ; and as I had no certificate, what persons gave was at their own risk, looking to the individual to whom they gave for results. What right, then, had they to advertise me in the manner they have done ? I never was, in the slightest degree, indebted to Samuel Gregory's name for one cent of money obtained for the Society.

I have stated in the preceding pages, the manner persons represented him to me, and used to tell Dr. Waters of it at the time the remarks were made. His reply was, — "You must expect such things — every one has enemies." I told him I was aware of that ; but for persons to make such strong assertions, as they did about him, strangers to

a stranger, was rather ominous. And when I came to be placed in the position I have attempted to describe, I could but revert to some advice given by those persons.

I never carried and presented a book to any person for subscriptions, with a certificate signed by him. And he never wrote one in a book, until just about getting the house; and then he wrote it, I have thought, for a kind of emulation, that these persons might, if I by chance should meet any of them, behold his rival. He well knows his enemies, probably. I never carried out a certificate—I never was in the least degree beholden to any one for my success in that or any cause. I heard such statements, that I did not consider it practicable; and as Dr. Waters said, every one had enemies—many without a reasonable cause, to. I do not feel that I merit the reproaches that I have received from them, and shall not, until they have convinced me, by the mode I have so eagerly sought, to give them an opportunity to show my own wrongs on the one hand, and let them prove on the other, wherein I have failed to perform my duty.

CHAPTER IX.

I left the city for the country on the 28th of June, and was absent till the 11th of August. When I returned, Dr. Waters gave me a note from S. E. Sewall. I submit its contents to my readers, and leave them to decide whether it was dictated in good or bad taste—in friendly feeling or ill will:—

“WASHINGTON-ST, August 7th.

Madame :

I am directed to say, that unless you cease immediately and entirely to collect money, by representing yourself as an Agent of the Female Medical Education Society, or by representing yourself as having been injured by the Society's name in any manner, you will be prosecuted criminally for obtaining money by false pretences, of which there is abundant proof.

Respectfully, &c.,

S. E. SEWALL.”

I had been absent more than six weeks when this letter was written. I had not been out or thought of the thing. I had been on a visit among my friends, sixty miles from the city, and on returning, was threatened with a criminal prosecution because I said I had been injured by the Society or in its name.

Am I not to be permitted to speak of my wrongs if I

have been wronged! and in my own native land commanded to be silent by one of a superior or inferior capacity, as though I were yet under their authority? If I were the criminal their letter indicates, and of which they had such abundant proof, why did they not cause me to be arrested at once, without giving themselves the trouble of writing this alarming threat?

Such able-bodied and strong-minded gentlemen ought to perform their duty without menace! However, I never feared them, for I committed no evil while connected with the Society, nor made any mistake during the time, unless it was in being too much interested in having it under good and wholesome organization and regulation. [No person ever knew of my being closeted for hours, daily and regularly, with Gregory or with any other gentleman—as a customary thing with Anna Golding and Samuel Gregory.]

This note comes from Mr. Sewall, the woman's rights man, who advocates her cause with stanch ostentation. He seems to have forgotten his duties, therefore, when he seeks the destruction of a humble individual of that sex he pretends to uphold and sustain. He ought to be the man, the very man, to lend a supporting influence to an oppressed and embarrassed woman, made thus by the wickedness of his brother man and others.

I remained in Boston till the 6th of November, '51, and left on account of poor health to pass more or less time in the country. I returned to the city on the 18th of March, A. D. '52, and left it again on the 26th of April, and came back to Boston on the 8th of June. On the 28th of June, in the afternoon I called upon an acquaintance and was handed a report that had been sent to them by Mr. Gregory, as was supposed. My attention was called to the following upon the last page of it:—

“CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC.—The Directors regret to be again obliged to caution the public against a Hellen Maria Rice, *alias* Hellen Maria Gassett who, under the former name, was recommended to the Society, and was for a time employed as agent, but found unworthy of confidence and dismissed. Still continuing to collect, she was, in May last, advertised; but has since been heard of in various places obtaining money by representing herself as having been unjustly treated by the Society, and by other pretences. By obtaining contributions from many respectable persons, and using their names in her subscription book, she has, it is believed, been very successful in imposing upon people. She is of medium stature, light complexion, a fluent talker, and well calculated to deceive.

Persons who have been applied to by her, will do the public a service by reporting her to some of the Directors of the Society.

Boston, Feb. 16th, 1852.”

Was there ever a more diabolical outrage committed upon a human being? Where was that justice I had so long sought for from them in vain? Could there be found the same number of men guilty of such barbarity and falsehood? Was not this caution enough of itself, to prove there existed ill will, and that it was put forth in a spirit of revenge.

Review the dates, and it will appear nothing can be made out of the above, but a wilful and *malicious libel*. Three months and ten days I had been absent from the city. I had not taken up a book, or thought of doing so. It was named everywhere in perfect disgust. I heard enough of its doings here without taking it out into the country on a visit with me.

I had entered into another kind of business at this time, and was not in the slightest degree connected with the Society, and had no occasion to refer to it. I had engaged in a matter for the express purpose of relieving the embarrassed position I had been placed in by the officers of the Society, and restore what I had already expended from my own purse in their behalf.

I was more than sixty miles from the city when this appeared in the report, and had been away three months and ten days; and yet the Court said, no ill will. Call such, justice? If it be right and a righteous judgment, who may not falsely prejudice with impunity? and from what tribunal can redress be obtained against the wrong doer?

It is impossible to describe my feelings, when my attention was first called to their published caution. My first determination was, that four-and-twenty hours should not pass, before the calumniators should be apprised of my indignation in some proper manner. But as several I had conversed with had not seen the article, and others, who had refrained from telling me of it, because they felt it was cruel in the extreme, and did not want to be the instrument of presenting such disagreeable intelligence to distress me; and others again, thought as it was of such long standing, they would not notice it—between their conflicting opinions I concluded to pass it by unobserved.

On the 17th of September, A. D. 1852, however, there appeared in the Daily Evening Traveller the following notice:—

“A FEMALE IMPOSTER. — We are requested by the President of the Female Medical Education Society, to caution the public against a Helen Maria Rice, who, some three years ago, as it appears, was introduced and recommended

to the Society, by what was supposed to be responsible authority, as Mrs. Helen Maria Gassett, and was for a time employed as an ~~agent~~. But proving herself dishonest, in having collected funds which she did not account for, and in other respects an unfit person for the place, she was dismissed. Still continuing to collect, she was advertised in a number of public journals, and subsequently in the Society's Report. She has since been engaged in various places—and very recently in this city—in obtaining money by representing herself as having been involved in debt in consequence of the unjust treatment by the Society. She is a woman of middle age, medium stature, light complexion, fluent talker, and well calculated to deceive."

Again, from the Boston Daily Post, of Sept. 18, 1852:

"The public are cautioned against paying Miss Helen Maria Rice any money for the Female Medical Education Society."

Again, from the Boston Evening Transcript, of Sept. 16, 1852:—

"AN IMPOSTOR. — The Female Education Society caution the public against Miss Helen Maria Rice—three years ago calling herself Helen M. Gassett—for collecting funds for which she did not account. She is of middle stature, light complexion, and a fluent talker."

Again from the Boston Courier, of Sept. 13, 1852:—

"FEMALE IMPOSTOR." — "The president of the Female Medical Education Society cautions the public against a Miss Helen Maria Rice, who has, it appears, proved dishonest."

Again from the Boston Daily Commonwealth, of Sept. 18, 1852:—

“The Female Medical Society, cautions the public against Miss Helen Maria Rice, three years ago calling herself Mrs. Helen Maria Gassett, for collecting funds for which she did not account. She is of middle stature, light complexion, and a fluent talker.”

I will not say that the officers of the said society are imposters. That I will leave for the public to ascertain, I won't assume the responsibility. Their *age*, *stature*, and *complexion*, I will not describe, but leave that also to be pictured in fancy. I will not say that Samuel Gregory is not entitled to M. D. But did he ever study Medicine a day or an hour in his life. Either is it necessary to invite the public to communicate to me their unwholesome reiterating remarks. Nor do I say he makes known his moderation unto all men, because if I did I should not be believed on this point, after reading the foregoing notices. Neither do I assert that *he* is well calculated to deceive, however much the public may be deceived by him.

I think however, Mr. Andrews, of the Traveller, was deceived, in publishing such a bold attack by Gregory's request, doubtless, upon a person he never saw or heard of; except through the lips of the man, for so the Editor testified in court. And from inquiries made at the time, who authorised the insertion of the other slanders that followed in the different papers, the information received pointed to the same individual.

Since the publication of those paragraphs, I have given them an opportunity to prove the facts they allege therein. And if they really had such abundant proof to substantiate my guilt why did they not produce it?

From thirty to forty witnesses were summoned against me, and two able counsel. I anxiously waited to learn what they knew, and could prove. Why--were they willing to shield themselves unless the subterfuge of pleading privileged communications in their defence?

In my action for libel against them they did not prove their facts to be true, but raised a question of law, to be decided hereafter by the whole court. But who is protected when assailed, if the aggressor may thus delay results? Neither foreigner nor native is safe. We had better, in this condition of things, cease wrangling about exotic governments, and the institutions of neighboring States, and amend our own local laws.

But since the defendants failed to produce their proof, the law aiding them in staving off a verdict and judgment against them, that they might wrong and drive me and my suit out of court, or at least continue it for an indefinite period. Since they are unwilling to meet me on the facts, shall and must I submit in silence?

Can there be any harm in my making an effort to vindicate myself, disabuse the public mind of their false reports, and enjoy those blessings of protection, liberally conferred by God on every human being! I hope hereby, not to seek in vain for redress of those robbers of reputation, who admitted in court that I was a stranger to them, and who have filched my sustenance, stopped my mouth, deprived me of my natural rights, by binding me down, and fastening upon me, as with fetters of iron, an odious and false name and character!

I am persuaded that each and all loving justice to whom the above appeal is made, will pause long before they give an affirmative response to the interrogations!

CHAPTER X.

On the twentieth of September, by advice, I applied to Hon. R. Choate for his counsel, in reference to the best course I could pursue to extricate myself from my embarrassed connections with the society. He said his time was much occupied, that it would be impossible to attend to it, and referred me to Mr. Parker, (I think the gentleman's name was,) a young man who was or had been a student of his, and if he were disposed to engage for me, and needed assistance, he (Mr. Choate) would lend him his aid.

I called at his office three times, but not finding him, I went to R. H. Dana, Esq., on the twenty-third of September, and made to him the same statements that I did to Mr. Choate. Mr. Dana said he would examine the case, but that I must pay him twenty-five dollars first. I paid him that sum, with the understanding that he would attend to it immediately. He run through my papers, rolled them up, and placed them in his safe.

Day after day, I called upon him, but received only his word that he would have it attended to on such a day, or by such a day, till I became somewhat doubtful of his veracity, and so expressed myself to my friends. I got one of them to have an interview with him, and if possible to find out the cause of the procrastination. Mr. Dana acknowledged he ought not to have put me off so long, and promised to investigate the matter forthwith.

At this time he had had the case four weeks. I waited nearly

three weeks longer, and then withdrew the papers from him. How much or how little influence others had over Mr. Dana in keeping me in suspense I know not. All I want of others is to speak the truth, if they speak anything of me, and then I shall know what they mean, and where to find them. And if I can get the truth I care not whether it is spoken in mild tones or those of thunder. I really began to think that men possessed no truth, that they were all false beings, and that the louder they proclaimed their love for the rights of suffering humanity the more they were deficient in the true spirit of benevolence. I went to Mr. Dana, prepossessed in his favor, and from the manner he received the money and papers I expected of him prompt attention to the business.

When I paid him the twenty-five dollars, I little thought he would pocket the same, keep me in suspense at his pleasure, and make no effort for my benefit. I took back the papers, but not the money. I could have kept them rather cheaper myself, for he is a good pay-master who pays when the work is done. But I cared not so much for the cash as for the deceptive promises. I deemed myself fortunate however, that my papers were safely returned to me again.

I next went to the Hon. Benj. F. Hallett, with impressions unfavorable to him, caused by statements made to me of his unpopularity. But I can truly pronounce him to be a man of integrity, a true-hearted and genuine philanthropist, of fixed and undeviating good moral principles. I congratulate myself therefore, in my happy exchange of counsel.

I have learnt by experience, that we must have personal acquaintance with men and women to know their characters, that popular rumor neither proves them to be good or bad, that applause and censure are often unjustly bestowed, that

names and titles are nothing, and that "reputation is an idle and most false imposition, oft got without merit, and lost without deserving."

After soliciting Mr. Hallett's services to audit and settle my difficulties with the other parties, he made an effort to bring them to adjustment in vain. Many inquiries were made by my friends of them, why they were unwilling to render me justice. A couple of gentlemen called upon Samuel Gregory, at his boarding place, the morning after the last announcement to the public through the papers, to learn why they pursued me in such a manner, and the crime I had committed. They were waited upon into the parlor. After some little time he came into the room; they introduced themselves and made known their business, and said that they had called to learn the true statement of facts, to gather information for themselves, and for no evidence to be made use of in any way against him or his party. Gregory said that if I or my friends were aggrieved, there was a method of redress by law. One of the gentlemen said he did not consider that a Christian spirit, coming from one who professed such principles, and for his part he did not approve of law, that he thought it was unchristian-like on his part, to manifest such a spirit—and that law was a merciless method to settle wrongs; he did not approve of it, and no gentleman would be guilty of the act. But he was as cold blooded and unmoved as marble. Finally, the gentleman turned to the other and said, let us depart, for it is useless to waste time where so little is deserved.

When one of the gentlemen learned I was decided to make the attempt to obtain justice, he called and advised me to have nothing to do with them, for it was evident that Gregory was at the bottom of the whole matter, and that he was satisfied that he was a cold blooded villain, and should ad-

wise me to have nothing to do with him or them. I told him if they wished to meet me they could ; that I should not pass this charge by. Since the call, he has described to me the impressions made upon his feelings by Gregory on that occasion ; though not till long after he learned I had prosecuted the parties.

He said that when he came into the room, he was very gracious, so very polite that his manners were actually salvey. That is the true character of his appearance when any one he thinks is about to lend aid to his projects. He was indeed so salvey in his address, that it was sickening to see him ; but when he learnt it was in relation to the manly business he performed the day before, he became more like an icicle than a human being ; and of all persons he reminded him the most of, was the character in Copperfield, Uriah Heep.

“ As thistles wear the softest down,
To hide their prickles till they're grown,
And then declare themselves, and tear
Whatever ventures to come near ;
So a smooth *tongue* does greater feats
Than one that idly rails and frets,
And all the mischief that he meant,
Does, like the rattle snake prevent.”

All the inquiries amounted to nothing more than the above. Being briefly answered, we are prepared for action with ample testimony ; and if she or her friends are aggrieved, they can resort to law for redress. As if to make *sacred* law effectual against innocence.

Finally, my counsel became satisfied that they were determined to force me into court. He thought if they had not some strong grounds for this course, they would not

subject themselves to being sued. I told him I was ready to meet them there; and if he would undertake the case for me, if it cost me every cent that I was, or might be worth, I would freely expend it to prosecute the cause. I was not ashamed to be poor; it was no disgrace, if I was honorably so. But I would not suffer the reproaches of these merciless men—charges of which I was entirely innocent. I therefore would not submit to them. He suggested they might bring forward false testimony. I replied I of course expected they would do so. I could expect nothing else, inasmuch as all they had said about me was false. I therefore would like to give them an opportunity to establish those charges; and let the public know that I was not afraid nor ashamed to meet them. Were I guilty of that with which I am accused, I ought to suffer their curses the rest of my life; and I should rightly deserve them.

Mr. Hallett complied with my wishes, and caused a writ to be served upon the officers of the Society. With regard to the editors who have inserted the slanders against me, I am disposed to exercise charity; though they treated me with no respect by their publications, by taking one man's word for the truth of the statements. They knew not what they were doing, though they might suppose they did. If they had made the proper inquiries, they might have learned the truth about me. I forgive them. But with my accusers it is different. I am persuaded they knew better, and therefore there is no excuse for them. They have disgraced themselves, by their unrighteous conduct, and time will prove it so. Let me remark here, that it is manifestly better for gentlemen connected with the press, before spreading abroad scandal in their columns against a private individual, to ascertain the accuracy of the facts; for there is

more harm done often in a brief paragraph of defamation, than an editor can atone for during his life.

The only reason why I pursue my assailants at all, is to know how far they can maintain their allegations; for as I said to Mr. Hallet, if I were guilty, I certainly would not institute the action — especially at the present day, when justice is so tardy, and may be bought or sold for a pecuniary consideration. Though great regard is expressed for the rights of women, in America, it is mere pretence if our law will countenance this act. For by the charges, I myself am not only condemned, but my family also is stigmatized forever. Charges that are made from the officers of an institution, who are seeking its support in every village, town, and city in the New England States, which charges, through their reports and the newspapers, have reached foreign shores denouncing me as a criminal.

Though the report containing the Caution was printed in the year 1852, it has been made use of the past winter at the Adams' House, in Boston, to poison some of the representatives minds against me. Is such a thing just? Can any one say that it is wrong for me to seek indemnity for these injuries in a land of equal laws of my persecutors? from a class of men who are public beggars of funds to sustain the institution, sending their agents from house to house, and shop to shop, throughout the land, which agents are receiving a genteel livelihood in the laudable cause.

A few facts within my knowledge and from their reports will show how matters stand.

They continued to represent themselves from Boylston street till August, A. D., 1852. From that time nothing more is heard of them till about the 21st of December, when a lecture is announced to be delivered by Samuel Gregory, in behalf of the Female Medical College, giving an account

of the origin, condition and progress of the institution, and of this branch of female education in our country. The lecture was advertized to come off at Cochituate Hall at half-past seven o'clock, P. M., and the public were invited to attend. On that evening, there being but *seventeen* persons present, it was postponed to the next week, on Thursday. The time came, and there were but *eleven auditors*; but Mr. Gregory nevertheless pronounced his address. When he had got through with it, he invited the audience of gentlemen to walk up and examine the plates of male practice in Midwifery more closely, if they desired, than he was able to exhibit them from the desk.

The next evening a flaming account was given in the papers of his able lecture; but I was told by a gentleman who attended that it was a very common-place affair. The time was lost in listening to it. My informant thought he, himself, without any pretensions, might have done better. No doubt, for Gregory is neither fitted by nature, education nor circumstances to lecture on medical and physiological science. Being also an unmarried man, he is not the person to expatiate on such subjects. It was manifestly improper, likewise, to exhibit those indelicate illustrations as he did.

And this modest and unassuming man, the public is recognizing as a fit agent to conduct and manage the N. E. Female Medical College! Mothers and young ladies of America! Would your sons and brothers, who are educated physicians, be guilty of such impropriety, conduct so unprofessional, as to publicly disclose the secrets of their avocation? If they did, they would become a bye-word, and deservedly lose their reputation and practice into the bargain. Gregory has assailed in the work he has published, the members of the regular profession, in terms which indicate that no moral purity exists among them.

But again, let us discover, if we can, the means he has used to build up the society, more properly speaking himself. Whether it has not been by resorting to every vulgar artifice, against those generally of far more integrity than he possesses, a large class of our most respectable citizens.

In the first place, a book filled with plates on Midwifery of an objectionable character, is put into the hands of his brother to sell to any and all persons who would purchase them, while he was lecturing on the same subject to a class of ignorant persons of the male sex, and talking with them about it on the public highways.

In the year A. D., 1845, he and his brother began their operations by putting out the work that I first took out to sell. They formed into a society in November, A. D., 1848, with but six members. When I entered upon the duties of an agent, I had six names upon my subscription list, August 20, 1849, though my petition said they had six hundred members the year 1849; but they had for their only representation of the society an office at Mr. Marsh's, 25 Cornhill, till August, A. D., 1850, — then they were located in Boylston street, till August, A. D., 1852, when from August, 1852, till February or March, 1853, there was nothing heard of them, with but one exception — a lecture from Mr. Gregory on the 30th of December. They then obtained a room that would accommodate about thirty persons, where they now hail from, on Washington street.

The book did not favor the faculty, who were, therefore, disgusted with it. Their patients were disgusted with it also, and would not sympathize with the cause. And without their co-operation I found it useless to labor in its behalf, and so told Gregory; and knowing that *he* was little respected by the faculty, and that his society did not rank very high, he endeavored to throw the odium out on me, by keep-

ing me well posted in and before the public ; first, through letters ; second, through agents ; third, through papers ; and fourth, through reports.

It seemed to be their special business to represent me as a most heinous creature ; and at the lecture at Cochituate Hall, on the 31st of December, A. D., 1852, when leaving the hall, a gentleman remarked, there is very little interest exhibited for the society. Yes, was the reply, but there is probably as much as ever there will be, while it is conducted by the present person. The stranger began to attribute the cause of it to an agent they had formerly employed myself. This was two years after I had withdrawn from the agency. He was told it was false, but he persisted in saying certain things were true. He was answered his author was known, and that there was two sides to the story. His name was demanded, that he might be called upon to prove his statements. He did not submit to their request, but went away, and has never since been seen.

One of the present agents called upon a gentleman for aid, and in expressing her views pretty freely was asked why the lady that took the house of me left ? She represented her in that manner, one would suppose that she had been ejected. When she was asked for whom they wanted a room to be locked up and a sofa-bedstead in it, for whose special convenience was it to be prepared, she left the store, and has not since been there.

At another store she called several times for a donation, but was denied it ; for, said the gentleman, I felt convinced there was something wrong about the society from her statements. Another remarked, she needed to be only a man to have been shown the door. Such conveys but a faint idea of the character of their agents.

Mr. Gregory's brother was going about selling his book

that contained large plates on male practice in Midwifery to any and all persons he could induce to buy them. Can it be believed that a pure-minded man would engage in such a business from no selfish motive and for the good of the public alone ?

While he was one day exhibiting his book for sale, a conversation ensued between himself and another upon the low character of the business he was engaged in ; that he was not very respectably employed ; that a man seeking a living in that form could not much regard his dignity ; and some thing being also said of his book in connection with the Medical School, he represented me as dealing falsely with the society. One of the gentlemen in the store told him if he would prove one assertion he had made that afternoon about me he would give him a twenty dollar bill, taking one from his pocket. He left the store, and has never called for the twenty dollars, nor has he been seen since.

I have shown, I think, that the object of my persecutors is to brake down my reputation, and build up their own upon its ruins.

It might have been more judicious for these persons to have operated in a more quiet manner ; for the system they have adopted and carried out will never invest them with that dignity they have so zealously sought.

On November 2d, A. D., 1853, the introductory lecture of the fall term was advertized to be given at the Meonian Hall, Tremont Temple. I attended there at the time ; there being but sixty-two persons present according to my computation. I was greatly disappointed, for I expected to witness a large assembly.

The next week free lectures were announced. I attended three of them. At the first, there were twenty-five ; at the second, twenty-three ; and at the third, thirteen only com-

posed the audience. This falling off indicates the want of talent in the lecturers, and consequently but little interest was manifested in the cause. Upon inquiry of one of the women present, how large their number was that term ; her reply was, she did not know, but very few, however, were present. It is still asserted that the society is yet in existence.

On the 9th of December, another lecture was advertised free ; one month since the last free lecture. Eleven were present, including the students. I learnt at this time there were two or three some days, and the largest number was five.

The next you hear about the society is an announcement as follows : —

“ MARCH 3d, A. D. 1854.

FEMALE PHYSICIANS. — Four ladies are to receive their degrees of M. D. this afternoon, at the New England Female Medical College, corner of Boylston and Pleasant streets.”

From their representing themselves from their old site, it had an appearance of feeling all forgotten ; and that there had not been much interest in the public for their welfare through that season of instruction.

“ MARCH 4th.

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE. — The Commencement Exercises of the term of 1854, took place at the institution, 274 Washington street, yesterday, and the following persons received the degree of M. D. : Sophronia Fletcher, Lowell, Thesis, Insanity ; Lucy A. Harris, Waterville, Me., Thesis, Hemorrhage ; Mary H. Jenks, Springfield, Thesis, Parturition ; Martha N. Thurston, Lowell, Thesis, Cholera Infantum.

The degrees were conferred by the Hon. John S. Tyler

President of the Institution. The Valedictory Address was delivered by Professor Cornell. It was an interesting discourse, setting forth the duties, responsibilities, trials, and pleasures of the Medical Profession, and was listened to with marked attention by a *crowded audience* of ladies and gentlemen—among the latter of whom, was His Honor, Mayor Smith, and several clergymen. The address was followed with statements by Rev. A. A. Miner and Samuel Gregory; and the exercises were closed with prayer by Mr. Miner. Thus ended this term.”

One would think by reading the above account, that there had been a great interest taken by a large concourse of persons assembled to see the degrees conferred. It speaks of a crowded audience. I do not doubt that *thirty-five* would *fill every seat*. *Fifty* could not be well seated—that number might be *admitted to stand*. Twenty-seven occupied *every seat*, the first lecture I attended at their college. But from the description here given of it, one unacquainted with the deception practiced upon the credulity of the public through this paragraph, inserted in the papers as editorial, for the purpose of drawing attention, creating sympathy, and claiming support, would *really* suppose this to be an institution of *great popularity*; and one in which the public generally were deeply interested. I often hear persons who are little acquainted with it, say, “They are getting along finely, I see from the papers.” True, its success is known only on and through the papers.

This Institution claims for its name, *New England Female Medical College*; and at its great and final closing for the season, with its five to ten thousand annual subscribers, not more than fifty attend on its great commence-

ment day. But from the account given by the papers, one would think there were thousands who attended its meetings. Crowded! Why, the friends of the Directors and Teachers ought, if they did not, to have filled that little room. At the last commencement, how many Directors were there? Was there more than *two*—President and Secretary—and did the President stop more than fifteen minutes?

In the report, it is sated that over one hundred have attended the school, and a degree conferred upon six. How many are in practice at the present time with but three months instruction, and that by only one teacher—"a mere smattering"—it does not say. Why have so many pupils attended one term only, and migrated to other institutions? Is there not a cause for it? Why do respectable persons dislike to have it known that they ever attended this institution? If you converse with one that is in practice, who has attended this school one term, and graduated at some other, you will not find her to admit the fact, unless particularly inquired of.

Now let us look at the interest manifested by the officers of this institution. Have not their annual meetings been conducted by two, and sometimes three—two Directors and a Teacher—one of the Directors, Chairman, and one Secretary, and the Teacher voted the whole Board of Directors in? How was it last season, October '54? There was a public meeting advertised. A member attended, or essayed to attend. He went to the college-room at quarter to eight. It was lighted up, and he waited until after nine, and retired without seeing any signs of a public meeting. The next morning there appeared in the early papers an announcement of the result of their annual meeting as follows:

“The Annual meeting of the Female Medical Education Society elected John S. Tyler, *President*; Samuel Gregory, *Secretary*; John P. Jewett, *Treasurer*; Benj. C. Clark, Samuel E. Sewall, A. W. Thaxter, jr., D. S. King, J. P. Jewett, and S. Gregory, *Directors*.”

From such a notice, the reader would believe there had been a public meeting. But it was not so; although it was advertised there was to be one. There might have been a closet-meeting; and as there never has been public interest enough felt at this institution, to call together an audience, the two or three who constitute the society, did not expect an assembly on this evening, or they probably would have attended themselves.

When there has been any public business for the directors to do, has not Gregory taken a paper and run from one director to another to procure signatures?

Howeever respectable the Board of Directors may appear upon paper, they have been only *men of straw*, so far as action for the Society is concerned. They have never taken interest enough in the Society, to attend as a body, either at an annual or any other business meeting. Will not this be considered a fine Board to receive and distribute the public money?

I here copy two or three Articles from their Constitution.

“Article 4. The officers shall be chosen annually by ballot, at the yearly meetings of the Society — a *majority of votes cast being required to secure the election of the several candidates*. The officers shall have power to fill any vacancies that may occur in their Board, and shall fill their offices till others are appointed.”

It is doubted whether the above has ever been adhered to — one only being present to vote the whole.

“Article 5. There shall be also Seven Directresses—to be appointed by the Directors—whose duty it shall be to assist in conducting the internal affairs of the Hospital, the selection of females proper to be admitted to its privileges and its charities ; and in all suitable ways to aid in promoting the objects of the Society.”

These seven directresses, I think, cannot be very efficient in their offices. By all the inquiries that have been made, I have never learned of any one of them assisting in the internal affairs of the hospital, or in the selection of females proper to be admitted to its privileges or its charities, or in promoting the cause.

“Article 8. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Wednesday in October ; and special meetings may be called by the Directors when by them deemed necessary. All meetings shall be notified not less than seven days previous to the time of holding them, by advertising in no less than four newspapers published in Boston, where the meetings of the Society shall be held.”

They are liberal, in giving such ample time for the public to digest the advertisements in four papers, to attend the annual meeting ; but on the evening appointed, when one arrives at the college he or she finds not an individual in attendance — no, not even the officers !

“Article 9. This Constitution may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at any meeting of the Society, provided notice of intended amendments be given in the call of the meeting.”

According to the last annual meeting, the Constitution will remain the same as *long* as the Society is in *existence*—there having been no interest manifested for its welfare.

Now let us turn to their Annual Account, and see if there be any thing that may interest, or throw any light upon the so-called popular, though invisible Society.

The first account we get of the annual amount of money collected, is on the 16th of February, A. D. 1852. Organized on the 6th of November, A. D. 1848—*three years existence*—and no account rendered of money received during that time. The account is made up from the year A. D. 1850, October, and ending October 1851. Their receipts were, from

Fees of annual and life members, and dona-	
tions, - - - - -	\$2,179.00
Tuition fees, - - - - -	588.00
Rent of part of college building, not occupied	
for the institution, - - - - -	400.00
Total, - . - - -	\$3,167.00

EXPENSES.—Rent of college-house, furniture,	
library, &c., - - - - -	\$1,200.00
Taxes, and water rent, - - - - -	61.10
Paid to lecturers, - - - - -	415.00
Paid to agents, - - - - -	523.00
Edition of annual reports, - - - - -	96.00
Edition of legislative reports, - - - - -	41.00
Advertising terms, printing circulars, &c.,	144.49
For an article of apparatus, a sign, fuel, &c.,	
stationery, postage, travelling fees, public	
lectures, miscellaneous expenses, - - -	298.01
The balance paid to Secretary, - - -	388.40
Total, - - - - -	\$3,167.00

In the above account, we see that the fees paid by the pupils were more than they paid to the lecturers; and in looking over the list, three separate charges made for meetings and lectures.

According to the statement given on the opposite page to the account in the report, there seems to be but one agent. \$523 are *allowed for her salary*. The apparatus is not definitely described or charged. All the travelling and public expenses, stationery, postage, fuel, lights, and a salary of \$388.40. \$911, besides having all their extra expenses paid, is a pretty fair profit to receive from public subscriptions for two individuals the first year, on a security given by one who was denounced as an unfaithful agent and unworthy of confidence. The salary to the agent, was more than I collected for the one year and a half I was connected with them, and until I decided to have nothing more to do with the Society.

The apparatus, they hired of a lady, and have never paid for the use of it. Gregory, after having used it for the season, sent it back to her without paying for transportation. But a couple of years afterwards he called and paid the item, but not for the use of the apparatus. He might have heard of her denying statements he had made to the public, of its costing the Society so much for the use of apparatus, as he represented, when in fact they had not paid her one cent for the use or the transportation of it; although they injured it more than it ever was before or since damaged.

The Second Annual Account, for the year ending October 5th, A. D. 1852, made up and printed, January, A. D. 1853.

RECEIPTS. — Money collected, including fees of			
annual and life membership, -	-	-	\$1,782.18
Donations for purchasing apparatus -	-	-	550.00
Rent for part of college building, -	-	-	426.04
Tuition fees, -	-	-	700.00
Total, -			<u>\$3,458.22</u>

EXPENSES.—Rent of college, including furni-				
ture and library, - - - - -				\$1,000.00
Expenses of establishment, - - - - -				263.55
Paid to agents for collecting funds, - - - - -				372.73
Paid for apparatus, - - - - -				455.13
Paid to lecturers, being the amount of tuition				
fees, - - - - -				700.00
Advertising terms, meetings, &c., - - - - -				136.87
Printing reports and circulars, - - - - -				63.00
Miscellaneous: travelling fees, postage, sta-				
tionery, &c., - - - - -				89.53
The balance paid to secretary, - - - - -				377.41
Total, - - - - -				<u>\$3,458.22</u>

Here it is seen by the account, that none of the subscription money is appropriated to the instruction of pupils, as many suppose their contributions are bestowed for that purpose. The expenses for the establishment are \$263.55; and the rent for part of the building is \$426.04. Did they rent the establishment, and then pay for taking care of it? There does not seem to be any other expense connected with the house, that would have called for so large a sum, unless it was for the agent or agents. It does not specify what it was for. In this report there appears to be two agents—S. Gregory and Anna Golding. They occupied and managed the house; although some members had made an effort to have the Society conducted differently, they were not able to effect an alteration. The agents get \$372.73, and \$263.55—in all, \$636.18.

Advertising terms, meetings, &c., is quite an item in their accounts, besides serving as convenience. \$136.87—quite a sum for meetings, the few they had. Printing reports and circulars, \$33; miscellaneous, travelling fees, postage, stationery, &c., \$89.53; the balance paid to Secretary, \$377.41—making a sum for the agents services of \$1,013.59, travelling and extra expenses not included.

The Account for the year ending October 4th, 1853 ; published Jan. 13th, 1854.

RECEIPTS. — From fees of annual and life membership, donations, and tuitions, - - - \$3,056.33

They do not credit this season, the fees paid by the students definitely ; but all moneys received are acknowledged in account. And why ? Because the number being so few, might lessen the sympathy in the public, and the contributions.

I was informed by one of the pupils, there were but five ; and certainly one might suppose that the reason I have given might be the true one. A falling off of three-quarters since the year 1850.

EXPENSES. — Rent and fitting up of college-rooms	
and office, - - - - -	\$262.93
Furniture, - - - - -	78.17
Apparatus, . - - - -	350.00
Paid lecturers, during the term, - - -	278.00
Printing 6000 copies of annual reports, also documents for the legislature, billets, circulars, &c., - - - - -	277.78
Advertising, - - - - -	111.21
Travelling, public lectures, and employment of agents, - - - - -	733.08
Secretary's salary, - - - - -	600.00
Fuel, stationery, and miscellaneous expenses,	252.61
Total, - - - - -	<u>\$2,963.80</u>
Balance on hand, - - - - -	\$92.53

Rent charged for fitting up College rooms, two hundred and twenty-six dollars, ninety-three cents ; hired and entered the room sometime the present year, ending Oct. 4, 1853.

The year this account was made out for the College rooms it says, but more properly termed room, I think, it is fourteen by sixteen, possibly, or sixteen to twenty. I do not know exactly, I judge merely from a personal view of its size.

The furniture consists of three rows of seats and benches on which six or seven might be seated in one row, a portable desk or table, an ordinary one, and a couple of chairs, a stove, an air tight one I think, a box with a figure in it, a manikin, a dozen or two of anatomical plates, all of which constitutes the principal part of the furniture. Here you have the interior properties of this renowned seminary.

I am told the teachers received nothing more for their lectures this term than what the pupils paid, \$278.00.

Account for the year, ending Oct. 3d, 1854.

RECEIPTS. — For Annual and Life Memberships					
and Donations,	-	-	-	-	\$3059.61
EXPENSES. — Rent,					
Printing and paper,	-	-	-	-	309.34
Advertising,	-	-	-	-	337.53
Postage,	-	-	-	-	187.03
Furniture, fuel, fitting up and other expenses	-	-	-	-	43.48
of rooms,	-	-	-	-	167.29
Anatomical materials, and other expenses	-	-	-	-	
connected with the institution,	-	-	-	-	113.00
Travelling and other expenses, and pay of	-	-	-	-	
agents,	-	-	-	-	692.34
Paid for services in obtaining pupils, and in	-	-	-	-	
connection with the application to Legisla-	-	-	-	-	
ture, and in aiding the objects of the society	-	-	-	-	
generally,	-	-	-	-	277.69
Secretary's salary,	-	-	-	-	600.00
Paid toward arrearages of Secretary's salary,	-	-	-	-	100.00
Miscellaneous expenses,	-	-	-	-	86.63
					\$2914.33
Balance on hand,	-	-	-	-	\$145.28

There is no account of the fee paid to the teachers this

year, so that it is not known publicly; but last year the Legislature granted one thousand dollars for forty scholar ships a year, for five years, commencing this year. They had twenty-seven under this grant, and drew the thousand, I have been informed. How much went to pay the teachers the report does not say.

Now let us see what there is to show for the \$15,000, and what there can be expected to be accomplished with the \$20,000 they have in contemplation of getting, by taking the present condition of the college for example.

Let us review the accounts, and notice how intricately and adroitly they are made out, and see if it be possible to ascertain the expense the society have been to for one item, and if we can find out the precise amount of any one article they have in their possession.

In the first place, I will take the apparatus, and copy from all the reports as therein recorded, and see how much they have in their possession.

In the first report that we got of the society's collections of the year fifty-one, printed fifty-two.

For an article of Apparatus, a sign, fuel, &c., stationery, postage, travelling fees, public lectures and miscellaneous expenses, -	\$298.01
In the report of fifty-two, printed Jany. 1853, Apparatus, - - - - -	455.13
In the account of fifty-three, printed Jany., 1854, Apparatus, - - - - -	350.00
In the account of fifty-four, printed Feby., 1855, Anatomical plates and materials, and other expenses connected with the institution, -	113.00

Now to get to the amount of apparatus, are we to figure up the whole amount set down against these charges? If so, let us see what it all comes to, and ascertain if the amount is to be found at the college, and what it consists of. The whole, as arranged, and to be estimated according to statistics gathered from the report is - - - \$1216.14

But I am informed that they have not more than one-half of it, and not that which is of practicable use. In this account is all the property that one may or will find at the college ; but we will not stop here, let us look further into their account, by taking for our next consideration their lectures and meetings, and see if there can be found the sum paid for them.

In the account of fifty-one, of report fifty-two,	
Paid for lectures, - - - - -	\$451.00
Advertising terms, meetings, circulars, &c.,	144.49
For an article of apparatus, a sign, fuel, &c., stationery, postage, travelling fees, public lectures, and miscellaneous expensse, - -	298.01
In the account of fifty-two, in the report of fifty-three, paid to lecturers, - - -	700.00
Advertising terms, meetings, &c., - - -	136.87
For the year of fifty-three, in the report of fifty-four, paid for lectures, - - -	278.00
Travelling, public lectures, and employment of agents, for three years expenses for lectures as near as can be reached, - - -	733.08
	\$2736.45

For fifty-four, in the report of fifty-five, there is no charge made for lectures or meeting, so you gather no information relative to the amount of instruction given from this far famed institution, in the year fifty-four.

Let us take the advertising and printing account of 1851 :

Editions of annual reports,	\$96.00
Editions of Legislature reports - - - -	41.00
Advertising terms, meetings, printed circulars, &c., - - - - -	144.49
For the year fifty-two, advertising terms, meetings, &c., - - - - -	136.87
Printing reports and circulars, - - - -	63.00
For the year fifty-five, printing and paper,	337.53
Advertising, - - - - -	187.03
Thus you have it as given to the public, the amount of printing, - - - - -	1364.51

But how much has actually been expended for printing is not definitely stated.

Let us turn to the travelling expenses during the four years. For the year fifty-one,

For an article of apparatus, a sign, fuel, &c., stationery, postage, travelling fees, public lectures, miscellaneous expenses, - -	298.01
For the year fifty-two, miscellaneous expenses, travelling fees, postage, stationery, &c., -	89.53
For the year fifty-three, travelling, public lectures, and employment of agents, - -	733.08
For the year fifty-four, travelling and other expenses, and pay of agents, - - -	692.34
As near as we can get to the travelling expenses they are - - - -	1792.96

We will take next the agency. According to statements in the reports, there are but two agents, Samuel Gregory and Anna Golding. They occupied the premises in Boylston street after April, A. D., fifty-one.

In the year fifty-one, the account puts down for the agency, - - - -	528.00
Then agent and secretary, - - -	388.40

In the year 1852, they tax less to the accounts for agents; but a query rises upon a charge made just above the agents' account, made out as expenses for the establishment; and from the Society's account, they get for the rent of the house \$426, and they taxed for the

Expenses of the establishment, - - - \$262.04

Was this for the expense of the care of the house, when it was let, or was it set down in this manner, and intended for agents, that the sum might not look too exorbitant—there being nothing about the house to call forth such expenses that year, if it was leased, and for the sum repre-

sented, and the salary charged being so much less this year than last? I can account for it in no other way.

They paid, according to the account this year, \$372.73

By taking this charge and putting it with the above, you get a little larger sum than the year before, but no larger, or more added than they have added from year to year; though you will see other things come in to disguise the actual sums paid to these agents, as in all the different articles we have tried to get at.

The next is to agent and secretary, - -	\$377.41
In the year 1853, is charged travelling, public lectures, and employment of agents, -	733.03
Agent and secretary, - - - -	600.00
The year 1854, travelling and other expenses, and pay of agents, - - - -	692.34
Agent and secretary, - - - -	600.00
Paid towards arrearages of salary, - -	100.00
A very good sum for two agents, -	\$4,676.50

We will take our last and final item from the accounts of the Miscellaneous expenses, which seem to be quite large ones among their charges.

<i>For the year 1851.</i> —For an article of apparatus, a sign, fuel, &c., stationery, postage, travelling fees, public lectures, and miscellaneous expenses, - - - -	\$298.01
<i>For the year 1852.</i> —Miscellaneous expenses, travelling fees, postage, stationery, &c., -	89.53
<i>For the year 1853.</i> —Fuel, stationery, and miscellaneous expenses, - - - -	252.61
<i>For the year 1854.</i> —Miscellaneous expenses—the nearest we can get at, - - - -	86.63
Total, - - - -	\$726.77

There is one other charge which ought to have come under the travelling fees. I will give it here.

Paid for *services* in obtaining pupils, and in connection with the application to the legislature, and in aiding the objects of the Society generally, - - - - - \$277.69

The above charge appears to be made on account of extra services to obtain pupils, to come under the new legislative act. But formerly that was to be thrown aside; *get the money*; advertise broadcast—they will come in fast enough. It appears from the above they do not; and that, with all their broadcast advertising, *extra services and charges, the legislative grant, and gratuitous teachings, they were not able to obtain enough* to cover the grant, or come under the new legislative act. And although they have obtained money, and praised the Society loud and long, it appears so little interest is felt in the cause, and profession, that extra efforts and charges are required to be made to increase the school.

This furnishes another proof to the public, that concern this seminary: for by that class of persons, for whose benefit it was chiefly instituted, is hourly diminishing. A wrong machinery has been in motion, that repels, instead of attracting them within its walls. Ought it so to be? Should not its affairs be so arranged and conducted that proper encouragement will be afforded to all desirous of reaping the benefits of the college—going to it and from it without censure?

Although Gregory engaged to pay me a certain sum for every pupil I could obtain, he afterwards denied it; and he now makes the charge in the society's account for himself and agent, and it is allowed.

Now let us see what services these persons rendered, for which they make the claim independent of a definite salary

of six and seven hundred dollars a year. A commission on funds gathered, obtaining pupils, application in connection to the legislature, aiding the Society generally, rent of room, (which is more than the college-room,) and fitting it up; fuel, stationery, miscellaneous travelling fees, and *other expenses*, *he says*. Probably board when out of the city, and such other expenses as they might feel disposed to participate in at the public charge. There appears to be nothing to prevent the two agents from receiving the full benefit of these items. They have, and do now, continue in the enjoyment of such advantages. Having the handling of all the money, and the whole management of this so called New England College — occupying the whole premises at their pleasure, in an edifice not inhabited by any family to tell of their coming in and going out — they conducted their affairs in their own way, perfectly secure and undisturbed.

A salary is paid to an individual to do the bidding, and render general services to his employer. Supposing a man or woman receives a salary, is it customary to provide for the party the fitting up of a room, lights, fuel, stationery, besides every other expense that might be incurred by the inexperienced agent, without restriction? What would be the natural course with such an individual who had but one idea — that of money — if operating under such unlimited privileges?

A man employs a boy to carry out a circular containing his place of business and articles for sale, to distribute to every house and individual. He pays him for the service a stipulated sum, but he does not give him a commission on every bill he makes an effort for a person passing by to take. Yet the agents operating for the Society do claim and receive all this, and more, which facts are clearly developed in the preceding accounts.

I will proceed from their account to my own. I took it at fifty per cent. compensation ; but failing to obtain enough to pay my expenses, I communicated the fact to Dr. Waters and Mr. Gregory, when the latter said to me and Dr. W., that I must not think of resigning my trust ; and if it took every cent I collected, to pay my expenses, I must continue in the agency. He found indeed I was making favorable impressions upon the minds of persons I had called upon, and was doing well — better than any other person in the business before me ; and he had no fears or doubts now, about getting the Society into successful operation. I labored for it according to agreement, by using all due economy. For instance, when I went out of the city, I sought private board where my expenses would be less than at a public house ; and many times ladies have inquired of me why I did not board at a hotel, when out of town. I could give them but one reason — that already stated — the necessity of being economical in dress and board, in order to forward the project in contemplation rapidly. In the city I boarded in a private family in preference to a fashionable establishment, where I must be expected to make a more expensive appearance. My time was all required in the agency for the benefit of the cause, as it appears from Gregory's letter to me in June ; and if I had not received such promises for my services, I should not have complied with his wishes so readily, while he, as it now appears, was only forming plans and presenting them to me to carry into execution, without his furnishing me one cent for the purpose.

I will here give a sketch of the manner he conducts the business. Before giving my account, I paid into the Society \$150 ; and when I copied from my cash account and sent it in, by an oversight I made a mistake in omitting two dol-

lars. When Gregory made up the Society's account to me in February, he did not acknowledge the error. By his not doing so, I concluded that he did not keep an account of the money I paid to him; or that, as I had made the mistake, he would not acknowledge it, as it would show to the public the sum larger in my possession. It also showed, if he did keep an account, and a correct one, a spirit disposed to take the advantage whenever and in whatever it could be done. And in the February bill he charges the rent of November to me, when they had received the money for it and given a receipt. Then on the interrogatives filed to me, he asks the question when the person I leased the house to took it, the first of November or December, as though they themselves did not know. Is not here proof enough to show that the officers do their business as best suits their pleasure, thinking, as has been said, "We can represent every thing as we please, and it will never be otherwise known to the public, for she will never dare to contend against so many as we number." I now proceed in detail with my account.

BOARD AND WASHING BILL IN THE CITY.

1849 — 17½ weeks board, \$3.00 per week,	
from Aug. 30, 1849, to Jany., 1850, - -	\$52.50
Full board, from Jany. 1st, to Feb. 12 — 6	
weeks, - - - - -	18.00
Half board, from Feb. 12 to Feb. 23 - -	2.37
Full board, from Feb. 23 to May 13 — 11	
weeks and 2 days, - - - - -	33.85
Half board, from May 13 to June 5 — 3 weeks	
and 2 days, - - - - -	4.73
Full board, from June 5 to June 17 — one	
week and 4 days - - - - -	4.73
Half board, from June 17 to July 1st — 2	
weeks - - - - -	3.00

Full board, from July 1st to Aug. 1st — 4 weeks and 2 days	12.86
Half board, from Aug. 1st to Aug. 13th — 1 week and 5 days	2.56
Full board, from Aug. 13th to Aug. 20th,	3.00
Full board, from Aug. 20th to Nov. 30th — 14 weeks and 4 days,	33.70
Washing, from Aug. 30th, 1849, to Aug. 20th, 1852, at 37 1-2 cts. per week,	19.50
Washing, from Nov. 1st to Nov. 30th,	1.50
	\$191.30

Travelling expenses incurred at the suggestion of Mr. Gregory, Secretary of the Female Medical Education Society in the year 1850 : —

Jan. 3d, to South Boston and back, 12 1-2 cts.,	
Jan. 5th ; tickets 25 cts.,	37
Jan. 11th, tickets 25 cts. ; Feb. 5th, tickets 25 cts. ; Feb. 9th, tickets 25 cts.,	75
Feb. 11th, carriage, 25 cts. ; cars to Lowell, 60 cts. ; carriage 25 cts.,	1.10
Feb. 23, board in Lowell, \$5.85 ; carriage hire and fare to Boston,	6.95
March 11th, tickets to South Boston, 50 cts.,	50
May 13th, to New Bedford, carriage and fare,	2.00
May 28th, 2 weeks and 1-2 board at New Bedford, \$11.00 ; boat to Fairhaven 3 times, 37 cts.,	11.37
May 28th, fare to Nantucket and carriage,	2.00
May 31st, board at Nantucket, \$3.00,	3.00
May 31st, fare to the Vineyard,	1.25
June 1st, one day at the Vineyard, \$1.00 ; fare to Edgarton, 50 cts.,	1.50
June 3d, three days at Edgarton ; board, \$2.00 ; fare to New Bedford, \$1.75,	3.75
June 5, five days board at New Bedford, \$2.00 ; fare to Boston, \$2.00,	4.00
June 17, to Concord, N. H. ; fare,	2.00
June 24, board at Concord, and fare to Manchester, N. H., \$5.65,	5.65

June 29th, board in Manchester, and fare to Nashua, \$5.40, - - - - -	5.40
July 1st, board in Nashua, and fare to Boston, -	3.40
July 3d, to Dorchester, tickets 50 cts., - -	50
July 10, to Feltonville, \$1.00 ; conveyance to Bolton, 75 cts., - - - - -	1.75
July 10, return fare to Boston, - - - - -	1.75
July 20, fare to Lancaster and Bolton, - -	1.65
July 22, fare for a lady and myself to Boston, and in the city omnibus, - - - - -	3.50
July 23, fare for the lady's return to Bolton, -	1.90
July 24, to Nahant and back, 75 cts., - -	75
July 25, to Lancaster and Bolton, - - - - -	1.65
July 26, return fare to Boston, - - - - -	1.75
July 30, fare to Nahant and back, - - - - -	50
Aug. 1st, to New Bedford, - - - - -	2.00
Aug. 3d, board at New Bedford, \$2.50, - -	2.50
Aug. 3d, to Fall River, carriage and cars, 85 cts. ; boat to Newport, 75 cts., - - - - -	1.60
Aug. 13, board at Newport, \$11.25 ; fare to Boston, \$2.00 - - - - -	13.25
Aug. 14, fare to Bolton - - - - -	1.65
Aug. 15, return fare to Boston with the lady Mr. Gregory was so anxious to get, - - - - -	3.55
Aug. 15, fare to Nahant and back, - - - - -	50
Aug. 16, the lady's return to Bolton, - - - - -	1.65
Aug. 17, fare to Lynn and back, - - - - -	50
Sept. 6, to Rindge for household articles, and back, - - - - -	5.00
Sept. 26, fare to New Bedford, - - - - -	1.50
Sept. 27, one day's board and my return, - -	2.50
Feb. 3d, 1851, returning and the transport of articles to Rindge, \$7.00, - - - - -	7.00
Feb. 23, letter from Gregory, - - - - -	5

Travelling expenses, - - - - - 103.49

SUNDRY EXPENSES INCURRED AT THE HOUSE.

For one girl's service from the 20th of August				
to the 17th of September,	-	-	-	\$8.00
A second girl's service 10 1-2 weeks,	-	-	-	21.00
Board of the two girls,	-	-	-	29.00
Repairs and expenses upon the house,	-	-	-	38.87
Rent the 6th of November,	-	-	-	30.00
House expenses,	-	-	-	\$126.87
Cash paid into the Society,	-	-	-	\$150.00
Cash collected by me for the Society,-				\$505.30

The following is cash paid in from time to time to Gregory:—

November 17th, 1849, cash,	-	-	-	3.00
“ 22d, “ “	-	-	-	3.00
December 12th, “ “	-	-	-	12.00
January 14th, 1850, “	-	-	-	4.00
March 2d, “ “	-	-	-	2.00
“ 8th, “ “	-	-	-	7.00
“ 15th, “ “	-	-	-	3.00
“ 22d, “ “	-	-	-	7.00
April 3d, “ “	-	-	-	10.00
“ 20th, “ “	-	-	-	23.00
May 21st, “ “	-	-	-	25.00
June 6th, “ “	-	-	-	31.00
August 13th, “ “	-	-	-	20.00
				\$150.00

I will endeavor to digest my account as clearly as I *can*. I take the sum I paid the commission upon three hundred dollars, which I will set down first. That commission would be one hundred and fifty dollars, which sum I paid in, as appears by my date; and when I made up my account to the Society, as I had made the mistake when I gave the minute to Mr. Jewett. I so stated it in the account, and that if

Gregory had kept account of all I paid in, he would have acknowledged the same to me. But as he did not, it shows either an existing spirit of ill-will to me or unfaithfulness in his duty in the office he holds, to the public and to those with whom he may have dealings.

Now the one hundred and fifty dollars which was my half out of the three hundred, I set it against my board as far as it goes. My board and washing for the fifteen months in the city was one hundred and ninety-one dollars and thirty cents; being forty-one dollars and thirty cents more than the commission on the three hundred dollars.

Now I take the remaining two hundred and five dollars and thirty cents and divide it, half of which would be one hundred and two dollars and sixty-five cents. This sum I set against my travelling expenses. My travelling expenses for the society were one hundred and three dollars and ninety-four cents; one dollar and twenty-nine cents more than the half of the two hundred and five dollars and thirty cents; so there remains to be paid forty-two dollars and twenty-nine cents on my board and travelling expenses; there not being enough out of the commission of one-half of the five hundred and five dollars and thirty cents to pay for the travelling expenses and my board while I was actively engaged for the society. I now take the other half of the one hundred and two dollars and sixty-five cents, and see how far it will go towards paying my other expenses. In the first place, I will take from it the forty-two dollars and twenty-nine cents, which leaves fifty-eight dollars and twenty-eight cents, that being the amount deficient on my travelling and board bill.

The expenses at the house were ninety-six dollars and eighty-seven cents.

The sum over the fifty-eight dollars and twenty-eight cents was thirty-six dollars and five cents.

The sum of thirty dollars I paid towards the house rent, which makes sixty-six dollars and five cents loss from my own private means, — besides my time, labor and wearing apparel; together with receiving a defamatory character, and being posted in every paper as dishonest, and being discharged from employment in consequence of such slander.

Who ought to use the money and have her pay for her labor, but she who risks every effort for the cause in which she is engaged?

Is not the laborer worthy of his hire, though ever so poor? But these officers not only considered my services worth nothing, after I got the society into existence, but they cut me asunder from it, and heap upon me through the press and tongue individually and collectively the foulest calumnies they can invent. They say I used the society's money. I used not one cent for my own benefit. I was desired to go here and to go there, to do this and to do that. I performed the required services. But for whom and for what?

I have given my account with more minuteness than I would have done, had I not have been so strongly charged with being dishonest, and have tried to digest it clearly, but may have failed in doing so.

I run the risk that secured to me all I could or should have asked for my services, provided I had not learnt that the society was not what it advertised itself to be; and as badly as I have been abused for what I did for them, I considered myself honored with their reproaches, to what I should be if I were connected with them at the present day.

I make no objection to the public supporting such a society, and allowing its money to be used in the manner their reports show it to have been. When you read the fifteen thousand dollar statements of the funds contributed, and look for the substance of it, they have invested in property

for the use of the institution, you will wonder what has become of it, and be inclined to pronounce the same to be a *humbug*. And such a term might justly enough be applied to it. If I had reported to the public a cause as existing when I did not and could not know the fact for the sake of gain, then I should have enough to humble my mind to remain forever in silence.

CHAPTER XI.

I never assumed the airs and the dignity that have been so uneffectually sustained by the present agents, in the public discoursing with old and young men about the origin of man, nor styled myself Mrs. Doctress, when I had not attended more than one full term, nor received a degree, nor made myself so offensive to the class, as to be considered unworthy of their respect in every form ; even when desirous of going into the room where they were ; have I had it suddenly locked against me ; nor have I desired to have a pupil say something complimentary to others of the school, to more favorably impress them of my worthiness, and receive an answer, Why, what can I say for you ? I could and should say nothing but the truth, and that they already know. Nor have pupils left the school rather than to attend with me ; because no person I could have any knowledge of escaped my censorious and unruly tongue, that no means whatever has been successful in stopping.

Sometimes these physicians (S. Gregory and Anna Golding,) lecture when out in towns and villages ; and the accounts of their discourses are exceedingly amusing for those who have heard the female, declare that a school girl sixteen years old would far exceed her in talent.

I will present only one of the many similar cases in which she has figured prominently. I will not give it a name, but leave my readers to christen it themselves. She visited a very intellectual class of ladies not a great distance from

this city, for the purpose of getting funds, and represented herself as President and Doctress of the Female Medical College of Boston. The ladies took her word for it, considering such honors in the metropolis of New England would be conferred upon no person unworthy of them. They had a religious meeting, and many took their young children with them. One afternoon while she was in the place, they politely invited her to attend. She accepted the invitation, and went. The ladies, out of courtesy to the doctress, invited her to take the lead. She declined, by saying she was not prepared, &c., but should like the privilege of making a few remarks after the meeting. It was granted. Accordingly when they had got through with the services, she rose, took some anatomical apparatus she had with her and exhibited the models in the several stages of embryo in the presence of the young children, and expounded them after her usual style, being that of a farago of confusion and ignorance. The ladies looked first to one, and to the other, not knowing whether to remind her of the impropriety of her discourse, or to let her proceed with it. She finished it, however, and left the hall. A burst of surprise and indignation ensued from the assembly at her presumption in introducing her indelicate subject. It was agreed that they had been decidedly imposed upon; and the question, what course to take in reference to the matter was discussed. It was finally decided not to proclaim the fraud to the public, nor to reveal it in private.

But some two or three weeks afterwards, one of the ladies said to a certain doctor, "*I have got something to tell you* ; and although I have pledged my word not to disclose, it is too good to be kept secret. She then related the facts, which afforded him and the ladies of the circle to whom he repeats them no little amusement. He tells the story with

considerable grace. Although the physician does not disapprove of properly educating women in medical science, he yet is decidedly opposed to female charlatantry in every form.

And the question arises, if a school of the kind is to be supported, ought it not to be judiciously and practicably organized, one that will meet the approbation of the entire community, without disposing of the funds got out of the public to pay agents and lecturers, manifestly incompetent to perform the services they undertake.

I will here mention something of which I was not accused to my mortification while in the agency.

I never visited either a village, town or city, and was obliged to leave the place on account of having the landlord or landlady charge me with improper conduct ; nor accuse me of entertaining gentlemen in the night-time in my private apartment.

I never accepted of an invitation from a gentleman, one of a committee of twelve men, to go the distance of a hundred miles or more, to visit any institution ; nor heard it said after I visited a place that I was an imposter, by the inhabitants, and it would not do for me to come there again ; or when money was contributed for the society by a passenger, retain it from the society because it was contributed on board of the cars ; nor have I been told I needed only to be a man to be shown the door ; nor have I upon the wharves and public highways discourse to the old and young men about their origin, to obtain money from gentlemen who would give it to rid themselves of my importunity. I have practised no such arts of putting men to the blush for their money. Neither have I gratified a man by being closeted with him two or three hours a day regularly ; nor took unlawful liberties with my neighbors in their absence ; nor presented

myself at a stranger's tea-table in an insulting manner. Had such have been my practices, then with propriety I might have been most faithfully posted, and I would have submitted to the rebuke in silence. Had I been guilty of such gross misconduct, it would have been a disgrace to have put my name beside the respectable ones of Mrs. Lyman Beecher and Mrs. Ide.

I will relate here my objections in negotiating with a man who figures for a gentleman and is an officer of the college.

In my first engagement I was to receive fifty per cent. on all I collected. I solicited from August to December, 1849. I then told Mr. Gregory I should prefer to give up the contract, for people were so slow to contribute, the receipts would not pay my necessary expenses; but he was reluctant to have me do so, and assured me if it took all I collected to defray them, I must continue in the agency. Now he denies it.

On the 22d of December, he wished me to make an effort to obtain women to attend the school, and offered me a commission of five dollars on each. When reminded of it, he promptly denied this also. When I took the house he said if I would take it, if there was anything to be made out of it, I ought to make it; but when there was an opportunity presented, he steps forward to secure the privilege himself; and if I will let them do so, it would give me a chance to pay the expenses for them to improve.

He then makes the engagements in his contract of letting the house, the intelligence department was for that person's benefit, who would occupy the premises. He afterwards withholds that from the tenant. He does not approve of Dr. Rolfe's taking the house. The effect would be inauspicious to the cause. He discloses to me the character of Dr. R., but requested me to say nothing about it, for it would

do the cause an injury ; that they should employ him no longer than another could be had to take his place. Then he insists upon having a room for the doctor, that they might have a sofa bedstead in it for the same person. But the lady declined letting them have it, as she had none to spare to be locked up and used by those with whom she was unacquainted. Then the doctor said, I knew you would not get it. But I will — you see if I do not.

On the 3d or 4th of February, two of the officers came to the house, and made an effort to get the landlady into the office alone with them, thinking probably they could say what they pleased with no interest on her part ; but she sent word, if they wished to consult her they must call upon her, and they concluded to do so, rather than leave without seeing her. They demanded a room, and said that they should take it, and that she must pay the water tax. But she told them she had taken the house on their own propositions, and should consent to no such thing. They took the room, but allowed no rent for it. Though instead of Dr. Rolfe and Miss Barney, it was occupied by Samuel Gregory and Anna Golding.

He did not wish to have the women going over the house, because they were a common class, but because it was forbidden, they obliged the tenant to give it up, and placed themselves the most unworthy of the whole class therein. She used to keep very late hours, and he, to swell the amount against me, in behalf of the society's account, charges me with rent which had been paid and receipted for, and does not acknowledge the whole of the money I paid into the society. These are a few of the many objections to my continuing my operations for the society. And it was far more creditable to myself and to every other person who valued truth, to dissolve all further association with such a capri-

cious board of managers of a corporation. Was this man a safe person to negotiate with in public or private, unless with those of his own character?

These facts might not have been all known to the defendants, though I think they were in part so, or they would not have shown so much reluctance in producing their evidence in court on the 12th of December, A. D., 1854. Mr. Choate said, They *discharged* her (meaning me,) *quietly*. And I say so too. *So quietly* that they had it not in their power to show the time, place or form of doing it; and I confess I think by this time *they may think it was done a little too quietly* for their own personal interest. If they could have proved even the time when they discharged me, I doubt if the case would have been disposed of in the manner it was.

One of the defendants had so much sympathy for me, that the evening after the disposition of my suit, he puts himself to the trouble of calling on some of my friends in order to convince them that they were laboring under a mistake if they thought the defendants were unwilling to settle. He said that it was my fault; that I was contrary, and would not adjust the matter, and that they had tried to settle, but I would not. The only way they ever tried was by calling on Dr. Waters and demanding the books from time to time, and threatening to advertise me on the 14th of May, 1851. They then had my note on the 26th; they proposed to give it to referees, and the reason I have given for not accepting in the preceding pages.

Is it to be supposed that these gentlemen (for I suppose they considered themselves such,) would have thought me contrary if I had given to them the making of the two hundred dollars, paid all the expenses incurred upon myself by taking the house, and quietly gone up into a little room in the upper story of the building, selected by the

cautious agent, and have silently acquiesced with S. E. Sewall, Esq's., demand for rent for another tenant, given up the books, letting the note remain in their hands till the end of two years, and then paid it when demanded, said nothing about the conduct of their proceedings in and about the house, nor of their agents' aspersions of my character far and wide. But because I did deny such statements were true, and gave their true history, I was sharply reprimanded and criminally accused. I was not willing to affirm things to be just as these men of folly would have them to exist. The counsel forgot that he belonged to a profession that has been denounced in binding burdens upon the children of men too grievous to be borne, and that they themselves will not touch the burdens with one of their fingers.

Dr. Waters called for me upon Mr. Sewall twice, to ascertain whether there could not be some arrangement effected with him about the rent, and Gregory's proceedings at the house. But when Dr. W. called each time, as soon as he had told him his business the lawyer immediately took up a paper and commenced reading it, without regarding a sentence that the Doctor uttered. The Doctor said, after he had called the last time, that he was disappointed in the man; that he was never treated so ungentlemanly in his life, as he was by Mr. S., and that he most decidedly would decline having any further personal conference with him.

CHAPTER XII.

I became responsible for the rent, and as a matter of convenience, for a few days went to stop at the house, till a lady should come to take my place. She disappointed me, and I sought without success for others, as substitutes. Then as an accommodation for the officers, in behalf of the society, (as I then supposed,) took the house myself, much against my wishes, when every thing was completed for a perfect ascendancy. Because two hundred dollars more could be obtained, provided a cautious move could be made, his object was to place other individuals, entire strangers to the officers and to the cause, in possession of that which of right belonged to me, and which I had guaranteed and prepared at my own expense, care and labor; but because his cautious movements failed, and I would not countenance his craft and fraudulent policy, a letter disguisedly is sent to me, if possible to impeach my character, by connecting Gregory's name with it. In consequence of such ignoble conduct I declined all personal conference with Gregory.

I then appealed to the President, Mr. Gilbert, at his Piano Forte Ware Rooms, but was denied a hearing.

I then went to Mr. Jewett with the books, that he might be satisfied with my faithfulness, and he exhibited a desire that justice should be done. I then solicited a friend to take the house, with the approbation of the Directors, through Mr. Jewett.

The deception practiced upon me had proved too much

for my strength after so laborious an undertaking, and I concluded to rest for a few weeks, not thinking but what I should still operate again in the agency. But during the month of November, the conduct of S. Gregory, and the manner the school was conducted discovered to me that I had been unprofitably employed, and that the cause was badly managed, and the first of December I made up my account, sent it in and desired a settlement, but was refused one. I waited till the latter part of the month, and proposed an adjustment by giving the whole to referees, but that also was refused. The forepart of January, I took the book again of Dr. Waters, with intent to obtain the whole amount of the four hundred dollars, and hold it, in case I should be called upon for that amount, for I did not know but what they would oblige me to pay the same, but if they did give it up and settle the account against them, I should return the money to the individuals again. I made but a few calls, for every call I made was like uttering a falsehood. But what other course to pursue I knew not. On the last of the month the whole truth was revealed, the object was clearly seen, and my ears not being deceived, my understanding comprehended what I had been engaged in the year past. I discovered clearly that the cause was made obscure to promote a certain object. I then left the City, but was written to for a settlement, I returned and waited one month, but was advised not to institute any legal action. At the recommendation of some of my friends, I drew up a petition in my own behalf to obtain what was my due, and was likely to be demanded of me, rather than to act in the society's name, although it was my field by security, and no one had a right to it till that security was redeemed. That was the bargain when I gave it, and a bargain is a bargain if ever so foolishly made. Then they demanded

the books with threats of advertising me, because they could not make me believe I was obliged to abandon the field to them with my security in their possession ; and for the purpose of representing themselves as still respectable they relinquish the note, and in the evening publish to the world a falsehood. A friend on reading it said I would insert in the papers under their notice, my own, denouncing them as a pack of liars. I replied that I should not regard it, for if I let them alone, they will do themselves and the society more harm than me, for "even-handed justice" would assuredly hereafter, if it had not already so done, cause meditated evil to coil on my oppressors.

I left the City shortly after. When I returned I received by the hand of Dr. Waters a letter that was written over six weeks after I left Boston, threatening me with a criminal prosecution. Then in February, fifty-two, another notice. *I can find no name to give it*, appeared in their thousands of reports to be circulated in the community that they were still in honorable existence, and that the only soil on their reputation was caused by me, although I had not as it were spoken a dozen words in connection with them during three months previous, having been absent from the city for that period, and all I wanted was to forget the wrongs and injuries they inflicted upon me, and know just as little of them as possible.

June twenty-eight, I was apprised of the February report, and in September, the seventeenth, I was again reminded of my discharge ; notwithstanding I had never invaded or trespassed upon any of their rights.

I have never known or been able to discover a reason why the defendants persecuted me with such rancor. I never have injured them. I have given only true statements of my connection with their society, and have spoken in better terms of them than the *language* employed about them by some of their own acquaintances daily.

I finally secured Mr. Hallett's services to settle if possible, the difference between us, but his efforts proved ineffectual. He then issued a writ against them, as they pretended that a legal course would be no otherwise than agreeable, in short it was desirable. To gratify them and give them a chance to prove their charges, I complied with their desire. But when the action was tried and put on trial these *christian* people failed to produce a witness against me, but the learned counsel for defence and director, regretted that *they*, the directors *mouths* were *closed*, yet immediately after he declared the directors were not *acquainted* with the *plaintiff*. If not acquainted with me what could they say of me? And if they were *sorry their mouths were closed I had the greater reason to regret that my mouth was closed also*.

I however, was willing to abide the judgment of my peers, the jury sworn to render in an impartial verdict without taking any of them one side during the recess, to tell them my story.

I was ready to have the case decided against me, if the evidence was strong and truthful enough to justify that result. I claimed none of the defendant's *pretended sympathy* in my behalf. Though on learning the witnesses they had summoned I am in no wise surprised that they did not produce them, because the defendants *knew* that their *testimony* would *justify*, rather than *condemn* me.

The point was this. The action came to a trial before a jury, with all the specifications the ingenuity of their counsel could bring against me. Instead of meeting however, this opportunity to prove the truth of their libel, if it were true, they evaded the matter, and thought to get rid of the decision of twelve honest men, on the facts by setting up a special plea, that because they were a corporation they had a right to publish falsehoods about any persons who had been in their employment.

This was what their lawyers called a *privileged publication*, that is, that being a corporation, they had a right, with impunity, to warn the public against their agents, and charge them falsely with fraud and dishonesty without being held accountable for the truth or falsehood of such charges. This is the law point upon which they took the case from the jury, upon the matter of the *truth* and carried it up to the whole court, upon the plea that the directors of this society were privileged to libel any person who has ever been in their employment.

I do not pretend to know anything about the correctness of such law, and have no fault to find with judges or courts, but I only mention this in order to show that while I sought to put this matter to rest by truth alone, and was willing to abide by it—they choose to put in a special plea of their right to publish slander against a woman and go unpunished, not caring whether it was true or false, thus scattering arrows, firebrands and death, against the reputation of others, and when called to account, declare they were only in sport, or that they thought they were privileged to caution the public against any one they chose to suspect, whether with or without a just cause.

The following article appeared in the Boston Traveller on Saturday evening, two days subsequent to the postponement of my suit for libel in Court.

This journal appears to be their organ, through which to influence the community in favor of the Society: they hence publish therein, all notices and special matter in relation to it. Their purpose in procuring its insertion on the evening in question, instead of the next day after the hearing, was doubtless to afford an opportunity to the religious patrons of that paper and others, to *con* it over at their leisure the following Sabbath; causing them to pre-judge the case, and

thus bias them against the plaintiff. They knew it would have an extensive reading, and would neither be answered nor refuted till the following week ; when they hoped it would be too late to eradicate the unfavorable impressions it had made in the public mind upon the justice of my suit against them. But I trust they were disappointed. This *exparte* statement of the result of the action was promptly responded to, by Mr. Hallett in Tuesday's paper, to which I call the reader's particular attention. It may be correct that falsehood may travel a continent over, in time that truth is preparing to pursue her foe ; but nevertheless she is mighty and will ultimately prevail. My counsel has administered the proper rebuke to the defendants, and " COM-MENDED THE INGREDIENTS OF THEIR POISONED CHALICE TO THEIR OWN LIPS."

LIBEL SUIT.

The case of Helen M. Gassett, against Timothy Gilbert and others, former Directors of the Female Education Society, has been before the Supreme Judicial Court this week : Judge Merrick presiding ; B. F. Hallett for the Plaintiff, and Rufus Choate and Samuel E. Sewall for Defendants. This is the case of which we spoke some two months since, and which was put over from the last term of the Court to the present.

It seems the Plaintiff was formerly an agent of the Society, and that the directors published, in one of their annual reports, a caution to the public, stating that she had been found by them unworthy of confidence and had been dismissed, but still continued to collect, &c. The Plaintiff contends that this was a libel, and claims damages in the sum of \$5000.

On Thursday, the Defendants' Counsel made a motion

that the Plaintiff be non-suited, on the ground that she had failed to show that there was any evidence of malice ; that in making the publication the directors had merely performed their duty to the Society and to the public, and that therefore, it came under the designation of "*privileged communication*." Mr. Choate remarked that they proposed this mode of disposing of the case, to save the Court, and the parties the time and expense of a protracted trial, and save the Defendants the painful necessity of proving the charges against the Plaintiff, which they were prepared to do by the testimony of thirty or forty witnesses.

Thereupon the legal question, whether it was a privileged communication, and the question of fact, whether there was any malice or ill-will whatever on the part of Defendants were ably argued, and his honor, the Judge, decided to arrest the progress of the trial, and in view of the gravity of the question, to reserve its consideration for the whole Court.

Then follows the answer : —

ANSWER TO LIBEL CASE REPORT.

Boston, Dec. 19th, 1849.

To the Editors of the Boston Traveller :— In your paper of Saturday you have given a statement of the temporary disposition made of this cause by Judge Merrick in the Supreme Court, which is calculated to convey the implied acquiescence of the counsel of Mrs. Gassett, in the truth of the libellous charges against her, which is wholly unfounded. Thus you state, that the counsel for the defendants proposed a disposition of the case to save the defendants from the painful necessity of proving the charges against the plaintiff, which they were prepared to do ; and then you leave it, as if the counsel for the defendants and the court had very

mercifully stopped the cause, to save Mrs. Gassett from the proofs of the libel. You omit to state that the counsel for Mrs. Gassett repelled this intimation, which was thrown out merely *ad captandum*, and not in the regular course of a legal argument addressed to the court; and that he gave as a reason why the evidence should now be heard, that Mrs. Gassett was ready with her witnesses in Court, some from Maine and New Hampshire, to prove the falsity of every allegation against her; and if the defendants had any confidence in their defence set up of the truth of the libel, they need only prove the truth, and that would be a full justification without any privileged question being raised as a point of law.

The defendants did not adopt that course, so obviously the direct one to end the cause, if they could prove the truth of the libel, and adhered to the legal point of a privileged communication.

Upon this point the learned judge gave no opinion or an intimation of an opinion. He merely reserved the question on a report to be made by himself to the whole Court. In coming to the conclusion he said that the Court did not pass upon any question of fact. Nor did he intend to give any opinion as to the question of a privileged communication. The only ground upon which he had come to the conclusion not to go on with the evidence in the present stage of the cause was, that a preliminary question of law had been raised, and by the provisions of the Revised Statutes (which he then read, page 502,) "When any question of law shall arise, in any trial before the Court when held by one justice, he may reserve the same for consideration of the full Court, and shall report the case, or as much thereof as may be necessary, for a full understanding of the question."

In such case, he said, he deemed it the duty of the Court, where a question of importance in law was raised, to report that matter to the whole Court for its determination before the case was put to a Jury; and this he should do in the present case, without deciding the question, and without any reference whatever to the falsity or truth of the allegations, and without any prejudice to the plaintiff or to either party, in this stage of the case.

The preliminary disposition of this case, therefore, had nothing whatever to do with the giving out of the defendants' counsel that they would prove their charges by thirty or forty witnesses; or the repelling of that intimation by the counsel of Mrs. Gassett, who *challenged* the *defendants* to the *proof*, and put it, that they must be conscious they could not prove their charges, or they would attempt to do so, and thus make a perfect justification and end the case.

No, sirs, the Plaintiff *craves* no such *mercy* at the *hands* of her *assailants*. If they can prove the truth of their libel, they will stand justified in a moral, as well as legal sense, and that issue of the falsehoods of those charges she has offered and stands ready to demonstrate in any trial.

The result of the present disposition of the case is, that a single point of law, as to privilege, will go to the whole Court. If they decide that it was a privilege communication, whether true or false, that will end the case. If otherwise, it will go to the jury for their verdict.

Monday, June 25, 1855.

There appears in the Evening Traveller, quite an elaborate article upon the Female Medical profession, copied from the New York *Tribune*, and from it I will take but one paragraph.

“The prosperous condition of this College, mainly owing

to the Female Medical Education Society, which was formed Nov. 23, 1848, immediately after the commencement of the first term of the school for the express purpose of maintaining it. This Society organized itself on a popular plan, granting memberships with some privileges, to any person contributing one dollar annually, and life-memberships on completing the payment of twenty dollars. Commencing with six members, the number was increased to a thousand during the following year, and early in 1850 it petitioned the Legislature for incorporation. An act for this purpose was at first somewhat opposed in the Senate, but was passed without a dissenting voice in the House, and was approved by Gov. Briggs, April 30, 1850. At the close of that year about \$3,000 had been received from members and tuition, and expended. The total receipts of each succeeding year have averaged about \$3,200, making \$16,000 in all, which has been expended on the College, &c. The present number of life-members is 160, among whom are many of the most prominent ladies and gentlemen in Boston, and other parts of New England. The last published list of annual members comprises some 1,500 names."

According to the above statements they have received three thousand and two hundred dollars each year since the year A. D. fifty. But their reports do not say so. The amounts as given in them are as follows:—

From Oct. fifty to fifty-one,	-	-	-	\$3167.00
" " fifty-one to fifty-two,	-	-	-	3458.22
" " fifty-two to fifty-three,	-	-	-	3056.33
" " fifty-three to fifty-four,	-	-	-	3059.61
				\$12741.16

A trifling difference in these statistics of \$3258.84.

The reports acknowledge but twelve thousand seven hundred and fourteen dollars sixteen cents, and the above sixteen

thousand dollars. Is not here something incomprehensible to the reader ? especially to those persons who are seeking the truth of the society's statistics. Would not they infer from this account that the institution is munificently endowed with every facility for a complete education. Does it not also tend to encourage individuals of other States to aid in contributions, and to attend said school ? And a *puff inserted as coming from some disinterested person through papers and magazines published in a neighboring State*, and re-copied in a home journal, appears very plausible to persons less acquainted with these cautious movers than to others who have more knowledge of them.

It mentions \$16,000 received and expended on the College, &c. The interior of the College exhibits an appearance of having received much the less benefit of the \$16,000 than the et ceteras.

The popular plan, if popular, was not the organizing plan. The organizing plan was as I have given, in the foregoing pages.

CONCLUSION.

I have now ended the history and its results of my connection with the Society. I have given a plain and unvarnished narrative of the causes that have involved me in difficulty with the government of the corporation. I appeal to the impartial, charitable and intelligent judgment of my readers, upon the facts as I have detailed them, whether the conduct of the directors towards me appears to have been dictated by desire to advance the public good and sustain the cause of justice in a Christian temper, or whether it does not indicate a personal ill-will and even malice, together with a design on their part to establish their credit in the community by destroying my own reputation ? There

was a time when I stood high in the esteem of the association, when its directors bestowed upon me their voluntary encomiums. What has produced the change? What has turned their friendship into enmity? What has caused them to hunt me down, and brand me as a felon through the press? It is simply because I have held fast on to the sheet anchor of personal integrity. When I discovered the object of the leading director was not to advance the cause of true medical science, so much as to promote private pecuniary gain, I refused to be their instrument in its accomplishment. They then marshaled their hostile forces, and assailed me both with verbal and printed slander.

The effect remains to be seen. I am at present unharmed. I have no fears of the future; nor do I in the least doubt—whatever may be the result of my case in Court—that the verdict of public opinion, composed of my countrymen and countrywomen, will ultimately be rendered in my favor.

ERRATA.

On page 14, line 19, read in either "town or city."

" " " 20, " "fitted" instead of "filled."

" 20, " 5, " "twenty pupils."

" " " 6, " "fifty-three and fifty-four."

" " " 11, " "But by the report issued March, 1855, they charged for extra expenses in obtaining pupils to come under the new legislative endowment, the last year."

On page 22, line 5, read "left, to let Dr. L. know."

" 45, " 13, " "and he *has* so said to those of my friends he has conversed."

On page 56, 5th line from the bottom, read "and they were obtaining funds."

On page 56. last line, read "was *this* agent," instead of "*why* was this."

On page 70, line 6, ("if they would *vary*") strike out "*not*."

" " " 7, read "though some persons have a way."

" 107, " 19, " "Travelling, public lectures, and employment of agents,

\$733.08

For three years' expenses for lectures, as near as can be computed, 2736.46

On page 109, last two lines, "For the year 1854, miscellaneous expenses, 86.63

The nearest we get at the miscellaneous expenses, 726.77

On page 111, line 15, read "conduct," not "conducted."

" " " 21 and 22, read "incurred by the agent."

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7

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

DELIVERED WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2,

BEFORE THE

NEW ENGLAND

Female Medical College,

AT THE

OPENING OF THE TERM OF 1859-60.

BY

MARIE E. ZAKRZEWSKA, M. D.,

Professor of Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children.

BOSTON:

J. M. HEWES, PRINTER, 81 CORNHILL.

1859.

LECTURE.

THE presence of so many friends of the institution into which we receive to-day another class of young women, who are endeavoring to become useful to society; the importance of the part which I am about to take, in assisting these aspirants for knowledge to fit themselves for the profession to which they aspire, and the consciousness that by so doing, another responsible career is opening for myself in my adopted country, in which I have either to equal my professional brethren, or, to renounce it, because I cannot keep step with them;—all impress me with a feeling of mingled pleasure, and sadness. Both emotions are natural, and justifiable, when I consider that many a talented woman with a burning desire for knowledge will gather around me, and make the pleasure of instruction a responsible duty. But, the greater this duty, the more shall be my endeavor that all I give to them shall be correct in statement, and clear in presentation; and I have no doubt, that if my pupils but come, with that earnest desire for improvement, that vivacious comprehension, and that youthful enthusiasm, which alone have the right to expect success in its fullest meaning,—they will learn to find and to accept the truth, unmixed with the ignorance, deception and quackery, which find too fruitful a soil in the department of medicine into which to strike their countless roots and fibres.

The study of medicine is so great and comprehensive a field, that within its horizon we find included the whole moral world. It comprises mankind in all its conditions, in all its changes of opinion, and modes of society. It has been subject to the

highest wisdom in existence, to the greatest folly and mysticism which superstition could produce, and in our days to the most profound learning, and scientific speculation ; and though I am now addressing a promiscuous audience of which only a few are physicians, or students of medicine, every one is in some way connected with the profession, be it only as patient. Every one receives this liability as an inheritance from nature, and ought therefore to be interested in a science which occupies itself with mankind.

Before I attempt to enter into the considerations which lie within the limits of our subject, namely, *what do we want in a physician*, I must make some remarks in regard to the purpose of any study whatsoever upon which we enter. It is especially necessary for women, to become enlightened as to the motives and purposes from which, and for which, they make a change in their vocations. The present feeling of society, in this country especially, is, that women ought to become useful in whatever branch of learning their inclinations and propensities impel them to select, as in accordance with their peculiar tastes. However desirable and laudable this may be, and however much support this tendency may deserve, I cannot forbear complaining that this liberty is too often misused, and that half the women who avail themselves of this opportunity to step out of daily domestic life, have morally no right to do so, because they neither know the motives, responsibilities, nor purposes which alone should dictate such an important step. It is a lamentable fact that very few openings for earning a respectable livelihood exist for women ; and that *this reason* often impels them to enter a medical school, in order that they may obtain the apparent requisites for a physician's career, and by storing away the two years' instruction, acquire as it were a capital, which will yield them both profit and position. From such a class no professor could expect great brilliancy ; for the motive in entering upon the study was not created in the soul's yearning for development ; nor was their purpose to accomplish the highest aspirations of a restless mind, striving for the fulfilment of the mission of a lifetime ;—and the community can never expect that such members of the profession will ever be fit to take responsibilities at once so grave and important.

Others again may be prompted by ambition to enter the profession. Such will strive to fit themselves one-sidedly for that purpose which they hope to attain, by going through a drill of a certain prescribed course of instruction ; they will concentrate their minds upon a single object, to the attainment of which they will make every thing else subservient ; nor will they allow their minds to deviate from this purpose, in order to enlarge and expand the basis upon which a true benefactor of society ought to stand. They will leave their school only to remember her as a good old nurse, who helped them on when learning how to stand, or to walk ; and they will insist upon the method of instruction which they have adopted for themselves as *the method* by which alone, others can reach the standard which they consider the desirable one. And in this way they will become the stumbling blocks of progress, the stagnation points of development, and the just arguments against further encouragement to the elevation of woman.

To these two different classes of women who so often attempt the study of medicine, I must add a third, which belongs in part to both those already mentioned, but which is impregnated besides with a perpetual sentimentality, concealing these other motives, and which bears on its banner the inscription of "*Sympathy*;" sympathy with their fellow mortals of their own sex, with the suffering sisterhood. However absolutely necessary a certain amount of sympathy and compassion may be, to qualify the physician for success in practice, it will never be the right motive from which the student must start. This predominating, sentimentalizing sympathy, will dwarf or confuse the reason, the most necessary qualification for the study of human nature ; and will be pernicious to logic, preventing even the most natural instinct from looking upon *every thing that is natural*, and that belongs to the well-being of the individual, from the right stand-point. Too predominant a sympathy will render the practitioner unable to distinguish the weeds whose morbid growth and development suffocate and extinguish the individual, physically and psychically. Such students will never be benefitted wherever they may be admitted, and will never benefit wherever they go ; for they do not,

and cannot comprehend life in its reality ; and with their sentimentalizing sympathy, they will vaguely decide upon conditions they do not understand, and will as vaguely apply remedies from the stock of mystified and transcendentalized knowledge, which they have appropriated to themselves during the short course of their study.

All such as have the consciousness that any of these motives impelled them to the positions which they are now occupying will soon find, that they were mistaken in following these impulses, and that they will never make such physicians as the community has a right to demand of the present advanced science and opportunities.

The only motives that this profession permits its votaries are the clear and decided conviction of an inborn taste and talent for the practice of medicine ; and an earnest desire and love of scientific investigations, concerning the human being, in its construction, its condition of health and disease in all its relations with the surrounding world.

Adopting these as the only true motives, questions such as these must arise from various sides ; namely, from what source shall a beginner who is impelled by these motives, derive the necessary information, by which to ascertain what is health and what disease ; what is right and wrong in practice, and what is sense and nonsense ; and what is required of a physician of the present day ? Shall the student experiment and speculate entirely by herself, or shall she adopt the ultimate results of those medical authorities, who have surrendered these to us in the form of books ? That the latter should be done must be admitted, although individual experiment, and individual speculation will be just as necessary, but will never suffice, for it often needs more than a lifetime to settle a single fact through experience, whilst we find every fact gained discussed pro and contra in books, and as an eventual conclusion become the foundation of the different schools and systems of practice. It is not very surprising that the outsider gets bewildered when he comes to decide under what method he shall come forth as a physician. Look around and you will

find to your greatest astonishment, *here* the advocates of pure Philosophy contending for the honor of producing the wisest physicians, *there* others claiming Physiologists as the best, and *yonder* still others exalting the philosophical, physiological Pathologist; while beyond these are the many schools of the Allopathists, Homœopathists, Hydropathists, Electropathists, yes even Indian-opathists, which the fertile soil of America has produced. Should we not answer truly, when asked for what a physician has to fit himself, by quoting Dr. S. Johnson's exclamation, "the profession of physic is a melancholy attendance on misery, a mean submission to peevishness, and a continued interruption of pleasure?" This remark designates it much better than any of the grandiloquent names attached to the different systems. And yet this is not alone what we need in a physician, although it well defines the position of the administering doctor. It is necessary to show how manifold are the demands made upon the physician in our midst, and as I wish to add my mite in elucidating this subject, I propose to take a rapid and sweeping sketch of the different systems which have been followed by the practitioners of medicine, and which have operated in swaying the opinions of the mass, and in producing the great revolutions which have taken place in the belief of mankind, with regard to the qualifications and classifications of physicians and their methods of practice. I confidently hope that I may thus be enabled to remove many of the unjust prejudices and doubts, which have been so industriously propagated against that part of the medical profession, who call themselves the "Regulars," and to which I have the honor to belong.

It is a positive fact, acknowledged among all nations and at all times, that there is a certain maturity of the human mind, acquired from generation to generation in the mass, as there is in the different periods of individual existence. To this maturity we must ascribe the different forms which the practice of medicine has acquired.

Disease has existed as long, and is as old as mankind. The first sore finger made the first patient, and the first physician was the one who bound it up, or who inquired how it was doing. Pain awakens the instinct to relieve, one following the other, and

this must have existed from the creation of mankind ; if it were not so in Eden, it was because

“ The fruit of that forbidden tree
Whose mortal taste brought death into the world
And all its woe,”

brought also—loss of Eden. The practice of medicine dates back therefore to the morning of life, the shadows of a hoary antiquity gather around its cradle. The annals of history do not reach back of it, but only open the portals of fable in whose shadowy domain it is supposed to dwell. Esculapius was the grandson of Zeus, whose father was Time himself. Gradually we see it proceeding from this hazy atmosphere in the form of a mysterious science, assisted and appropriated by the mysticism of the oracles and astrologers, until it finds in the priesthood its devotees, who pursue the practice upon the body in connection with their duties as priests for the soul. Apollo is their divine guardian, while Lucina is chosen to watch over the entrance of the newcomer into this curious world. The period in which medicine and theology were united was of considerable duration ; and we find it thus not only among the Hebrews but also among the Egyptians. Symbolic language was the prevailing one in which to express the means and ways, by which these priests administered, or pretended to receive their remedies. This language was not only absurd, but also detrimental to the development of the practice as a science, because it excluded every one, except the priesthood, from its study. To this condition, in which scandalous cupidity used the blinded credulity of the masses for its selfish purposes, we must attribute all the superstition which then existed, in regard to the administration of medicine, and which is even now prevailing among many. Do we not constantly find, that at all times, diseases were regarded as a curse sent by the gods upon the afflicted, while recovery was greeted as a sign of reconciliation ?

Yes, even in the present do we see representatives of religion misuse credulity, so that many a time the praying of the beads is recommended, when a dose of quinine would be in better place ;

and many an amulet brings the wearer of it to the grave, because he fully believes, that by wearing this he would make physicians and apothecaries superfluous.

It is not long since a lady requested me to see her seamstress, who for years had suffered from a gangrenous ulceration of the foot and leg. It had been impossible for this lady to impress upon the girl the necessity for medical consultation. I found the girl very sick, suffering greatly, but firmly believing that she would get well. Her priest had ordered her to say her beads mornings and evenings for a certain time, while he brought her twice every week powders, which he assured her were holy and would be effectual in restoring her to health, because he had submitted them in church to the direct blessings of the Holy Ghost. This poor girl died soon after I saw her, when she might have been saved, had she been less faithful to her priest and more faithful to a surgeon.

As the masses became more and more mature, as they demanded greater freedom for their physical development, in the same ratio do we perceive the development of the mind progressing. Philosophers appear and contend with sophists. The former increase in number and gain popularity. But with them the practice of medicine as a branch of theological duties ceases, since the philosophers began to investigate not merely the metaphysical condition of human nature, but also the physical in its different relations. Aetiology of diseases became a part of their study, and although their chief attention was directed only towards the living phenomena, which they placed under the influence of abstract forces, another epoch was thus opened for medical practice. This transformation was beneficial throughout, since the men who thus formed the first distinct school for medical education, demanded of their disciples that they should be regularly instructed and should pass an examination. Notwithstanding the fact that in these teachings were involved the theories of supernatural forces governing the material, they contained the elements wherewith to lay the foundation of the next great epoch, which was positive or scientific learning.

To Hippocrates belongs the immortal fame of having been the

founder of medical science, though but few of his immediate followers continued to improve and further develop the facts collected by him. It is to this time that the school of medicine dates back, which calls itself the regular school, and which fully acknowledges the principles proclaimed by these first instructors and designed to advance the science of medicine in accordance with the progress and enlightenment, made through the means of education and inventions in different nations; to watch every change that takes place in consequence of such progress towards maturity of mind; to try every thing; to sift every thing; to adopt what is worthy of adoption, and to refuse what does not come within the boundaries of natural laws. And only by adhering to these general principles could the science of medicine have become, what it is to-day, broad in its foundation, comprehensive in its reach, and liberal in its tendency to higher development, and further reform.

That this school was not the only one, but that many others must have existed always, is very explicable from two reasons; first that the mysticism before Hippocrates did not suddenly vanish, but strove to create an opposing power; and secondly, that after Hippocrates, investigation commenced, and that every new discovery found its admirers and advocates; so that we must justly confess that many great men existed during the time intervening between the death of Hippocrates and the era when Hahnemann appeared on the platform of medical reform; that Aureolus Philippus Paracelsus Theophrastus Bombastus ab Hohenheim was certainly as great a man, and as important a personage to the advance of medical learning, as was Hahnemann; and that the advocates of cold or hot packings, the enthusiasts of mesmerism and the empirical herbalists of ancient and modern times, form by no means a despicable corps in the profession headed by Esculapius,—provided that their preliminary education and their fundamental learning have been profound enough to enable them to form an opinion, and to establish a sect.

If we pass all these systems in still closer review, the inquiry will arise, why it is that none of these different teachings have become living authorities, which could not endure to be modified

back, as it were, and merged again into the regular school of medical practitioners. It is because all have one-sidedly ascribed to a supernatural influence the principle which animates or restores the body. This power, which exists outside the organism, the movements of which are regulated or controlled by it, was to all of them something unknown, invisible, and still not intangible. Hippocrates affirmed that "nature" was the vitalizing agency; Hahnemann informed the world that it was "nature grossière," that is, nature in its rough condition, which had to be attacked; others spoke of it as the "fire air;" Paracelsus named it the "living spirit," and Van Helmont, his follower, made it a little more material, and called it "archæus;" Borthiez taught that it was the "vital principle;" Grimeaud the "substantial force;" while the scholars of the Middle Ages, together with Plato, Aristotle and the Arabs defined it as the "multiplied spirit." From this we perceive that the administration of medicine rested on a *belief*, a *faith*, and this explains why even the most learned of these men were often so wanting in discrimination and so unwise; and, consequently, why they could never become permanent authorities.

It is only since medicine ceased to stand isolated from other sciences, that this erroneous belief, that disease was produced by supernatural agency, has passed away, and with it such abuse of remedial agents. Nothing has more retarded the progress of medicine in becoming really scientific, than its separation from general learning; and nothing could favor empiricism and superstition more than thus to usurp the throne. And that such an usurpation could continue so long, and become so well established, is still better understood when we add, that the propagators of the different ideas, as well as the body of physicians who progressed with the times, always kept up the habit of using obscure and pompous phraseology, which served as a fence, excluding even the educated public, whilst the included few appeared to the masses as a mysterious band virtually possessing the power of kindling life or of annihilating death. That all this produced an apparently inextricable confusion, was very natural, just as it was natural that sects should have been formed, of which the one re-

nounced this, the other that, and the third something else ; every individual sect being distinguished by its one-sidedness. The only sect—if we may thus term the regular physicians—which remained firm under all these changes, which modified itself according to the demands of the people, and which at no time could be accused of one-sidedness in its proclamations, was that based upon the principles of Hippocrates and the Alexandrian School,—advising practical, experimenting science, which Lord Bacon in his works has approved with such justice. And how necessary it was to follow this recommendation continually, in every particular, is best illustrated by showing how one branch of medical practice could fall almost into oblivion by neglecting to pursue it as an *experimental* science.

In the history of obstetrics namely, we find that very little was done to promote its elevation from the times of Hippocrates and Celsus until within the last 120 years, when Pareus, Mauriceau, De la Motte, Deventer, and Justina Siegesmundin, with others, began to investigate it, and to raise it to its proper place as a science. Until this time routine had been reigning. The usual practice was—*that the work was done*, but nobody inquired *how* it was done. The obstetric art was so entirely neglected, that it was considered beneath the dignity of an honorable man, to pay attention to the most important event of life, if I may so call the process of being born, and giving birth. That the medical practitioners and surgeons so utterly neglected all scientific speculations, is due to the fact that low and uneducated persons appropriated to themselves this practice, even in cases of the greatest emergency ; and that the belief was diffused, that the life of the child was of no consequence, so long as the mother could escape death. Not even the instinctive fear that many a great mind might thus have been destroyed, among the thousands who fell victims to ignorance and cruelty at the moment of their entrance to life, could make the mass pause and think and revolt. Is it surprising then, that better men withdrew from the path which was thronged by these unworthy followers of Lucina ? Is it surprising that this part of medical science, in the hands of such practitioners, became a dry branch, when in the hands of sci-

entific speculators it might have grown into a blooming tree, adorned with the richest foliage and bearing the finest fruit of human skill and learning? The degradation of this branch alone proves the need of the introduction of new ideas, formed by constant observation in the science at large; that we cannot abandon speculations and experiments on the natural laws which pervade all organizations; and that it is a matter of great necessity that every student of medicine should be provided with ample opportunities for so doing. As soon as we admit this necessity, we place general principle on *the summit* of the edifice of learning, which has been erected by those who have studied the different sciences in their minute particulars, and thus made them auxiliaries to the medical science. And of such placing of generalities upon a collection of minutiae, we have in our days so many examples, that it has become to the truthful in all professions the purpose of a lifetime to aid in a reformation which is every where demanded. And how successful and beneficent, although difficult, such reforms are, I shall illustrate by speaking again of the resurrection of obstetrical science.

In the condition into which this art had fallen, as we have seen, it seemed that even all the acquisitions of the ancient physicians must be forgotten before a new inoculation was possible. New life had to be introduced before new fruit could be raised upon this field; and this new life was finally introduced when the persons I named before entered upon its study. They found that midwifery, as it was then practised, must be carefully sifted. Observations on nature were to be made, leading to scientific analyzation, the results of which were to be introduced into practice. The attention of the people was soon awakened to this change; they became conscious of the degradation of the practitioners whom they had formerly suffered in their midst; they began to abhor the indiscrimination and ignorance to which they had been subjected; they lamented the victims who had been so profusely surrendered into the grasp of death. The business which hitherto had been shunned and despised, began to rise in interest and estimation. A new era for the studious was opened, and many young and brilliant minds, who would have

before considered it dishonorable, directed their attention towards this branch of learning. Very soon after the first attempt for improvement, an ardent enthusiasm was created in the subject, since in it a field for new investigations, and consequently for new honors, became apparent to the eyes of the ambitious or learned. In a very short time, the practice of obstetrics was regulated in such a manner, that not only had the horror towards the persons engaged in it entirely disappeared, but the terrible operations often practised had also become lessened to an insignificant number, belonging to the class of unavoidable. Every country produced authorities. England boasted her John Burns and Hunter, while France raised up her Baudeloque, her Madame Lachapelle, Madame Boivin, and many others. But no country gave to the profession such thoroughly scientific investigators as did Germany, and of these a *woman* took the lead. *Justina Siegemundin* was the pioneer of this great reform, and her work, written upon the subject in 1741, came upon Europe like a thunderbolt, awakening minds in every country which had been preoccupied with a thousand other things, forgetting the most important, to an activity, which would but a short time before have been deemed impossible. In Germany therefore is the subject still considered of momentous importance, as the foundation almost of all other practice. There the complaint has ceased to be heard, that abuse is the main demonstration of the practice of midwifery ; and the statistics prove, that less loss of lives is there experienced than in any other country, though its proportion of difficult cases is the greatest of any. The name of an obstetrician, whether man or woman, can only be acquired by those who comprehend the laws of nature in their widest sense ; who are fully at home in all the different branches that constitute medical learning ; and who besides have attained the heights of logical development, and are in every respect humane. The truth of this many of you will know who have read the articles copied from the English into the American journals, upon the recent death of Dr. Heidenreich, formerly Baroness Von Siebold, a German, who was a woman of great talent, belonging to a family which has produced more than one medical authority. No medical man, however high in station,

thought of questioning her capacity for the practice ; and as for her learning, all knew that it was profound as their own,—for she had studied with them, listened to the same professors, sat upon the same bench at their examination ; in one word, had never been separated from them in education, and stood in every respect on the same level.

Now reformatations similar to this will be constantly demanded in the different branches which form the medical science. We have by no means reached the culmination point of knowledge already. Every day brings to us new results of new researches, which are throwing fresh light upon subjects not yet explained. Besides these constant improvements of which the practice of medicine will be susceptible, and which will be always a source of reform, there is still another from which great influences proceed, forming sects at first, but eventually demanding only reforms. This source lies within ourselves. It is a well known fact that whatever we wish true, we too easily believe so. Is not this influence the most powerful, and does not our experience every day prove, that this forms the basis of the multitude of sects in medical practice ? Are the fanatics of so many different *pathies*, and *isms*, themselves *convinced* ? Can they demonstrate that theirs more than any other is the true one ? Or do they only *believe* it, because they wish that it may be so ? Lord Bacon said, “ In the opinion of the ignorant, witches and impostors have always held competition with physicians.” A great truth this ; and from all that we have just passed in review it is easily explicable that it should still be true. Besides we have always the right to exclude from us the ignorant, and impostors ; and if we are to do this, let us pause for a moment and inquire who these ignorant ones are ? Perhaps those who can neither read nor write. And who are the imposters ? Those, perhaps, who sell in large boxes “ bilious pills, to cure the liver,” which organ they themselves don’t know where to find, but which they are sure the pills will find wherever it may be ! These two classes of people are decidedly ignorant, and the honest physician has a hard time to deal with them. But there is another class composed of highly refined and very knowing people, the individual members of which always

tempt one to exclaim, after discussing medical matters with them, "*sancta simplicitas*," so manifest is it that they suffer logic and reason to go on a furlough, when they come to think upon medical affairs. And these are the pillars of medical sectarianism; but as a consolation it may be said that they are also the indirect stimulus to greater development, more widely diffused information, and new revolutions.

And as the man, who can neither read nor write is not the only ignoramus, so is the seller of anti-bilious pills not the only impostor. But who dares define where we must look for others? Shall we point out specific sects and answer, "Yes, there you find them," well knowing that this decided little phrase, will cause the honor of the name "impostor" to be thrown at once upon the utterer? I certainly do not choose to point out different sects, but dare to say that impostors are found among all medical practitioners, and that every one belongs to that class who does not endeavor to his utmost, to keep step with the improvements and changes within the profession itself, and also to advance in the same ratio with the general progress. Every one is an impostor, who settles in a community, and demands of the people to bestow their confidence upon him, and to surrender their health and lives into his hands, when he possesses the consciousness that it was not the love of his profession, the desire to become a public instructor in his business, that prompted him to come hither, but the mere want of money through which to obtain a position and livelihood. Of course we all need to labor for these ends, but they should not be the *sole* aim; and although the physician has a right to demand the highest payment, this should not be first in his thoughts. The position of the physician in our days must be that of a benefactor, not only in respect to his curative duties, but also in regard to the influence he possesses over the minds of his patients, the comprehension of which he has it in his power greatly to enlarge concerning the condition of the body in health and in disease.

The *position held in society* by the physician to-day is widely different from that which was assigned him during the last 2,000 years. And to understand why it should be so, it must be to all of you of great interest to review with me the *social position* of

the physician before our days. After having done so we shall better understand the twofold relation of the practitioner to the public in social respects, and to the profession in scientific advancement.

The Greeks attributed the power of healing to their gods, and the priesthood was the mediator between these and the people. To bring consolation and relief to the sick was considered god-like, and the masses appreciated those who served this purpose, more through their feeling of gratitude, than through intellectual acknowledgment. This reverence continued as long as the cloud of mysticism remained impenetrable. The next stage of human development showed us the awakened consciousness among the philosophers that a great deal more learning was required in order to deserve this veneration ; and these men in consequence strove to obtain information about the construction of the body. How difficult it was to obtain the human subject for this purpose, can be easily imagined, when we consider, how difficult it is to-day, to reconcile the public with this necessary part of medical instruction. In those days it was still greater, and open contempt followed those who undertook it, every where, even when they contented themselves, with the bodies of animals. The consequence was that many wrong statements were circulated in regard to the doings of those who were glad to have even these insufficient means of information, and that few had moral courage enough to pursue the study under such obvious difficulties ; but the few who did acquire in secrecy, with indomitable perseverance some knowledge of the human system, appeared to the crowd as wonderfully wise beings. That their position was the highest desirable by the ambitious, is evident when we remember that that is always wonderful and overpowering to the minds of the mass, which is kept away from them in secrecy. The physicians in those times enjoyed the most perfect confidence, that ever was or will be bestowed upon any practitioners, but their influence upon the minds in general was limited in duration since they were obliged to educate themselves away from the people among whom they had afterwards to live.

Gradually these men disappeared without being replaced by

others, and the profession passed into the hands of mere empirics, who never reasoned about their work or if they did, but to scheme how to obtain greater gain. We are all aware that to be radically honest is one of the greatest virtues of men, but this virtue is very seldom to be found among those, who know that to be thoroughly honest will remove a certain halo which elevates them undeservedly above others; or will diminish profits they could otherwise secure. This was the cause of the stagnation of further development at that period, and of the lowered position of the practitioner in society. The most of those engaged in medicine were impostors, while the few honest ones were stifled by the prejudice of the mass in their attempts to gain more complete information; they consequently preyed upon the facts collected by Hippocrates and his disciples. At great intervals it is true we see a light appear on the medical horizon, such as Galen who endeavored to impress the necessity upon those who devoted themselves to medicine, of the study of nature itself, and who thus revived the respect of the public for the profession; but this feeling was too weak to become generally diffused, and never grew strong enough to attract other elements to join in its support. In this way we see the position of the medical practitioner wane, until in the Middle Ages it disappears entirely, and for some centuries falls back into the hands of the priesthood, who in connection with other mysterious works, also perform the part of the Samaritan administration, which directly concerns the body. The monks mystified their work as much as the priests of ancient times, and the physician became again a doubtful personage. This condition prevailed until the sixteenth century, when Theophrastus Paracelsus, born in Switzerland, suddenly stepped out of the concealed laboratory in which he had been engaged in the most earnest study, and proclaimed to the world, that he had found the "Elixir vitæ." Through the knowledge he possessed in various ways, he caused a great revolution in medicine, turning minds again towards the necessity of information concerning the material, which alone could sustain the "living spirit." He opened the doors to independent progress, and although himself a spiritualistic fanatic, full of credulity and superstition, he did more than

any other before him to remove mysticism from the practice of medicine, by putting accurate investigation in its place. It is true, that he delighted in bombastic language, as his name which I gave before in full indicates; but this we may pardon in him, living as he did in a time, when this alone impressed the superiority of its bearer upon the ignorant mass. He introduced chemistry as a natural branch of medical study, and however crude may have been his knowledge of this science, to his researches we owe the introduction of some of the most efficient remedies in practice. Through him the profession was raised from the darkness into which it had retrograded, and ere long was recognised again by the public as one of honor and dignity. It was no longer the surgeon alone for whom the people felt the need, but also the physician.

But this elevation of the social position of the physician was only the first step towards improvement. Every new discovery made in the natural sciences as well as the new general philosophy, introduced by the learned in metaphysics, reflected its light upon medicine, indirectly forcing it onward. Since the sixteenth century medicine has stood no longer isolated. The more fully natural philosophy extricates itself from the bonds of vaporous and mysterious book-language, the clearer, freer and more accessible it becomes to every individual, predisposing him for further learning, in the same ratio does medical knowledge become each day more thoroughly sifted from spiritual fungus and material weeds, allowing educated minds to penetrate its sanctum.

Since Paracelsus, there has been no cessation in the work commenced by Hippocrates. Scores of contributors have been competing for the honor of shedding new light upon subjects yet to be explained. At this present hour perhaps hundreds of the profession are completing statements of their eventual results, obtained after spending their lives in hard study over a single subject which had been hitherto wrapped in darkness. There is constant life and activity felt in the profession, and improvements proclaimed from day to day, so that there is hardly any true physician who does not daily learn something new, who does not constantly increase in knowledge, and whose practice is not influenced by

this greater development of the science at large. If this is not apparent to the public, it is because they do not know, how minutely the work must be done, in order to secure a basis upon which the practice of medicine can stand firmly as an outgrowth of natural laws. There is nothing new introduced into the profession, which does not serve the purpose of reform ; even homœopathy is made subservient to it. Since Paracelsus there has perhaps been no other physician who has been so prominently before the public mind as Hahnemann. Their popularity is perhaps equal, the one gained it by his large doses, the other by his small ones. And Priessnitz, however great his success in water cure treatment, could not gain a reputation to be compared with that of Paracelsus or Hahnemann, having reached these results through ordinary common sense, rather than by scientific methods—although we will not say that the introduction of water treatment is not as valuable to the profession, as the diminution of dosing.

The public generally does not look rightly upon homœopathy, as simply an outgrowth of medical science, which through the influence it has gained in public, excites reformation and thus aids in its further development. The general belief that the old school of physicians are obstinate, and only adhere to old theories, because they elevate it in seeming above others, and brings it wealth. The regular profession on the other side denounces the infinitesimal doses, and forty days intervals, as quackery ; arguing from the fact that Hahnemann was notorious for his imperfect knowledge of physiology, and that his theory was simply based on experiments upon himself with therapeutical agents.

There is decidedly much prejudice prevailing on both sides. The public has no right to accuse the profession of being obstinate, and the profession does not prove any thing by the mere assertion that another practice is quackery. Besides, all know that men of the greatest learning have taken up that system, and by modifying it, have been successful in practice. For myself I have to say that I am by no means either on the side of homœopathy or opposed to it. I readily acknowledge the great good effected in general practice through homœopathy. Prove every thing and keep what is proved, this is the first commandment in every science,

and especially in medicine. We have not yet arrived at the summit of learning, and should therefore welcome any one who intelligently advances new ideas. Some truth will always be found at the foundation of new theories, if it be only the truth, that a change is needed. Mankind is constantly progressing, and this cannot take place without a change in old ideas and methods. If therefore, homœopathy has gained such a power, it proves the existence, not of a caprice, but a necessity. Neither was it adopted by credulity, for it demanded public investigation. It ought to have been considered at first as it came to be at last, as an impulse given to the profession to investigate more closely, what it preëminently advocated, dietetic regimen and careful nursing, besides the reduction of doses. Till then, scientific analyzations had occupied the learned almost exclusively; hygiene was neglected, therapeutics were imperfect. Through homœopathy the scholars who sat, bending over their books, their microscopes, and their crucibles, were compelled to leave these for a little, and give to the world the results of their studies, applying them to actual life. In this way the practice of medicine at once changed; in many cases careful nursing entirely took the place of medicine, and in those conditions wherein these were absolutely necessary, delicate chemical preparations were substituted for the bulky bottles and boxes; and these could be given not only in very small doses, but were also agreeable to the palate and pleasant to the eye. This was the influence that homœopathy exerted upon the regular profession, while it modified itself according to the principles which underlie all practice. The educated homœopathic physician of to-day does not think any longer of waiting twenty, or thirty, or forty days before he repeats his decillion doses, but administers high potences every two or three hours, admitting that still prompter actions may be required in cases of emergency.

These modifications of treatment will soon become less and less apparent, and in the course of a century our successors will speak of Hahnemann as we speak of Paracelsus, drawing a parallel perhaps between the two in order to show the good results which they eventually produced upon the whole medical science.

To a certain extent, we may say the same of Priessnitz and his method, although this was unscientific and often irrational in its administration as the introduction of *every patent medicine* is. The indomitable perseverance, with which the elixir vitæ was sought after, made all neglect the most natural of all remedial agents, which is water. The attention of the experimenters was so closely fixed upon the retorts, which revealed to them so many a secret power, that they were quite indifferent to that which surrounded them. They never thought that a good honest farmer, endowed with a great deal of common sense, who had made his observations on the animals under his care, would lose patience with them, and declare to the people, "use water when you are sick, use water in every form, until the men who sit there with their crucibles, retorts and jars, shall have discovered the remedy, which will not only cure you but enable you to live as long as you please. But during this time of search you need not die; use therefore the simplest thing that nature provides in such abundance."

Now if the water-cure treatment has become so firmly rooted as a branch of general practice and homœopathy become more and more the fashion, have we a right to be surprised or angry? On the contrary, these should be considered as very natural and desirable signs of the times. Neither should we condemn the way in which these symptoms have spread themselves over the world, for the simple language with which these practitioners attempted the enlightenment of the public in medical and hygienic matters is very laudable, and deserving of most active support from every truthful man and woman, since it served to bring their work before the educated public and in this way to throw off the last remnants of mysticism, thus becoming the true benefactor of humanity.

And this is the position which a physician must assume to-day, and for which those should fit themselves who are entering upon this field of study. To be an honorable acquisition to the profession; a consoler to those who require assistance in overcoming disease; a public instructor in the art of preserving health; a reformer from the artificial to the natural; these are the problems to be solved by every one, who dares attempt to step forward to

the platform of the benefactors of mankind. This is the aim, which the beginner must have before her mind, and if she falls short of obtaining it, she must be able to say, that it was neither through indolence, nor indifference, but absolute powerlessness. If you doubt this to be the position which the student should take, then look around and ask yourself what you want of your physician. If you are educated, you want your physician to be still more so; if you possess perception of conditions and circumstances, you demand it of your physician still more, you want of him that he shall not only perceive and penetrate into the secret relations and conditions of the body physically, but also psychically, that he shall explain to you and argue upon those phenomena which are incomprehensible to you in spite of your great perceptive faculties. You demand of your physician further that he shall know every thing belonging to medical science; if you understand physiology well, you demand that your physician shall explain every fact that is dark to you, in a moment, while a lifetime may not be sufficient to prove an hypothesis. If you are at home in chemistry, you will certainly be greatly surprised if your physician makes a mistake in some combinations, and be ready to say that he is stupid. If you have great skill in nursing, you will expect of your physician to teach you how to improve; if you are kind and agreeable, and amiable, you demand the same of him; if you are irritable, fretful and capricious, so that you have been designated by your neighborhood as a fury, you want at least that your physician should comprehend your subtle nature. And in addition to all this your physician must be sociable, of course, entertaining, wise in every word, overflowing with great thoughts, uttering new truths whenever you invite him to your table. All this is really often demanded of the physician, but how far it may be justifiable I leave to the thinking ones to decide. Only this we may infer from it, that the physician of the present day occupies a higher station than ever before, and that greater qualifications for the study are required than in former times. And it is not the public alone that has its claims, according to its own condition of development, but the profession besides; and this stands justified in every respect when it requests of every student thor-

ough learning, earnest and sacrificing devotion to the profession, and an honest and truthful course of action.

I mentioned in the beginning that the motives for the study of medicine must be the right ones ; now I have to add that these alone will not suffice to make a good physician, such as we want to-day. These motives must be accompanied with certain qualifications, and the latter are twofold, and may be divided into those belonging to the intellect, and those belonging to our personal and affectional nature. It is of infinite importance that the intellect should have been previously developed by a course of study, by which to train logic and reasoning, and to familiarize the student to a certain extent, with natural as well as with moral and mental philosophy. Observation and experiment are the two great auxiliaries to medical study. Those who possess the one as a natural gift, and who have judgment enough to apply it, whenever they have an opportunity, will take the lead ; but those in whom both must be developed, will always limp behind, unless they study most industriously and perseveringly ; and in order to do this, we must look at the second part of the qualifications, foremost among which stands a specific age. The student ought to be mature enough to think and reason, but not advanced beyond the time, when the mind is naturally predisposed for acquiring knowledge. Physical health and prepossessing appearance are the next, while cultivated manners and agreeable behavior, as well as talent in adapting themselves to all conditions, all circumstances and all persons, are by no means the last to be considered.

Besides these, there are some qualifications yet to be mentioned, which form a part of our affectional nature, without which no practitioner can succeed. To this belongs sympathy, not sentimentalizing sympathy, but the sympathy which never betrays weakness or timidity, which is firm and persevering, controlling every action that it may not become rashness. Modesty and secretiveness, sobriety and unselfishness are other virtues much desired in the practitioner, and which I mention here chiefly because I know well into what temptations physicians are constantly led, and how often pecuniary gain, and through this, social position can be obtained, by being untrue to one's self in any of these points ; and I also

have had occasion to see the consequences in those, who could be tempted to abandon these principles.

No greater misery can perhaps be imagined than contempt for one's self; no greater punishment can be endured than the consciousness of having acted meanly and despicably. A man who is forced to blush for himself, when alone in his chamber, carries hell within him;—the loss of a pure conscience is the source of such despair. Conscientiousness, so important for every man of whatever station in life, is still more important in a physician. To be scrupulously honest, to satisfy his own conscience, even at the cost of material profit, is absolutely necessary in him. This may seem the thing most easily done, and yet it is the most difficult. I have more than once met with young practitioners, male and female, who confessed to me, under the greatest moral tortures, that their insight and skill had failed them in some cases, but that ambition or false pride,—yes, even in one case, pecuniary gain, of which that one was in great need,—prompted them to go on and to do their best, knowing that others might do better if in their place, and to leave the rest to Providence. I wish I could picture to you, in the most glowing colors, the condition of that practitioner, to impress upon your minds the importance of conscientiousness, and thus save some perhaps from similar misery. It is human life for which the practitioner is responsible, the most divine element in creation, irreplaceable when once lost; and no regrets, no penitence, no despair will be accepted by, or reconcile those who mourn the bereavement. A beloved wife and mother lost, brings perhaps another to the grave, or fixes the unhappy fate of a dozen of human beings, of whom she was the guardian angel, and who are left now alone. Pause and think for a moment, and learn to appreciate the weight of misery, when in lonely hours, such a picture reveals itself before the mind of one who in a critical moment was made responsible for life and death, and and who must blush before himself, confessing that such victims fell a sacrifice to his ambition, which prevented him from owning his inability for the work entrusted to his hands.

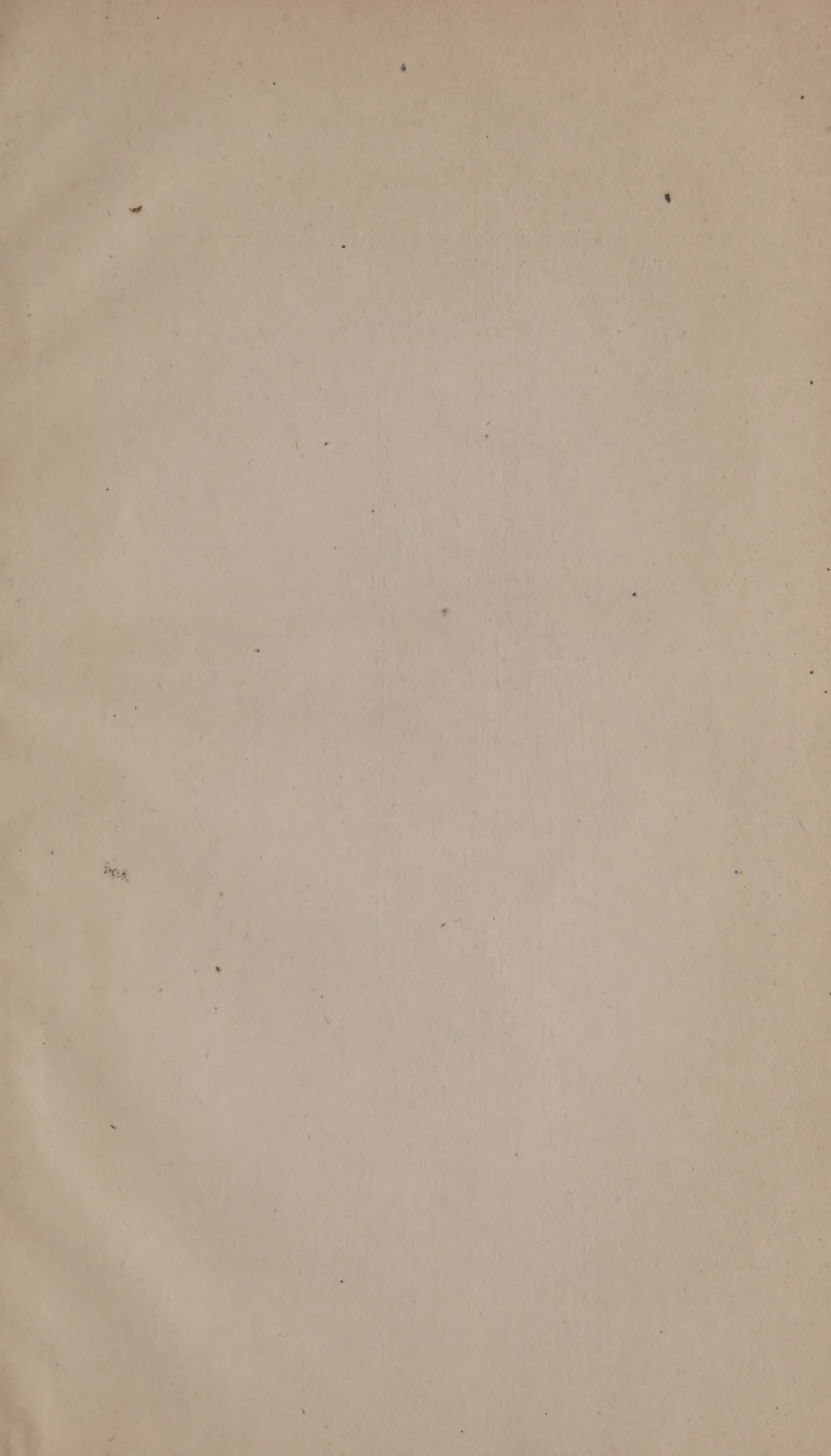
Conscientiousness is, therefore, perhaps, the most important virtue of the physician, and also for the student. Before com-

mencing, the student as well as the practitioner, should stop and think and ask whether his reasoning or his actions about the subject could bear the closest examination before his conscience. To become a physician is a great undertaking, it is not to be compared with any other business, nor with any other profession. The doctor of divinity, who administers to the soul, the doctor of laws, who cures the real estate, may have an influence upon the lives of many, but it is only indirectly; the doctor of medicine has the same indirect influence, but also the direct.

I must leave the subject here, and leave it to you to decide whether I have pictured to you clearly enough what we want in a physician of to-day, and, if so, you will certainly join with me in expressing your wishes that not only the very best method for instruction should be provided, but also that every facility should be offered the student in order to make her acquainted with the past history of medicine. Those only will comprehend their duty thoroughly, who are familiar with all that occurred before they stepped on the platform as public instructors or practitioners. Great deeds stimulate to greater ones, and much has been done in the profession already, so that the new comer has to judge, not only from to-day and yesterday, but from all times, in order to see where she stands.

I have spoken to you for a long time, yet I feel as though I were just about to commence. Thousands of thoughts come to my mind, which I should like to lay before you, and nothing but the fear of trying your patience too much bids me "stop here."

Those to whom I shall speak daily, I welcome cordially in the name of the faculty, while I thank the rest of the audience for their kind attention. May some of the words just spoken have proved what I wished them to be—Useful!



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